

Such, my friends, is a brief and very incomplete statement of the ways and means by which this Administration has made effective its recognition of the fact that the wild life in our fields and woods and waters constitutes a resource of vital importance to all Americans and that it is the responsibility of the Federal Government in cooperation with the States to safeguard it for future generations. At last we are making definite progress.

Governor Kump, Senator Neely and Congressman Randolph have been strong supporters of all of this work. The State of West Virginia understands it. You have not only vast natural resources but you have vast human resources. (Applause) And I am thinking not only of the birds and the beasts and the fishes, but I am thinking of the necessity of keeping them from becoming extinct in order that the human resources, our children and our grandchildren, may have them here.
(Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
GRAFTON, WEST VIRGINIA
October 1, 1936, 2:55 P.M.

I am glad to come back here. The last time I came through, there was no such thing as the Tigrett Valley Dam and I am glad to see it.

I am not talking politics but I am calling your attention to the fact that this Dam up here is a pretty good boondoggling idea. (Applause)

I am told by the engineer in charge that here in Grafton there are no people who want work who cannot get work. (Applause) And so, as it has been well said on a number of occasions this morning on the train, we are not here to defend the New Deal, we are here to proclaim it. (Applause)

This is a very different sight from what I saw in West Virginia in 1932 and I believe the country is well on the way, not only towards a recovery but to the kind of a recovery that is going to stay. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
FAIRMONT, WEST VIRGINIA
October 1, 1936, 3:45 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Senator Neely)

I am glad to come back to Fairmont and to note that it is a much more prosperous looking community than the last time I was here.

I am glad to be here with Senator Neely and Governor Kump and your Congressman and also here on the platform with your next Governor (Holt).

I received a telegram a few moments ago on the train and through you good people I am going to make an announcement. The telegram reports that for the first time in fifty-five years we have completed one full year without a single national bank failure in the United States. (Applause) From that, I am inclined to think that the banks of the United States are safer than they have been in fifty-five years.

(Applause)

Also, I have been much interested in seeing that great dam that is under construction further upstream. The engineer in charge has told me that in

July and in August this year there has been a greater tonnage of water-borne freight on the Monongehela River than any other stream in the United States. (Applause)

I am glad that the Federal Government is thus cooperating with the communities of this part of the country. I call it pretty successful cooperative boondoggling. (Applause)

And so it is good to be with you and I hope to come back one of these days soon. Many thanks.
(Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA
October 1, 1936, 4:40 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Senator Neely)

My friends, I am glad to be here with Jennings Randolph and Governor Kump and the Senator and the next Governor.

I have had a wonderful day in West Virginia and I am glad to come back this year and see the smoke coming out of the factory chimneys. (Applause)

I am glad to come to this University town. We went the other day to the three hundredth anniversary of my college and I called their attention to the fact that a hundred years ago, when they were two hundred years old, Andrew Jackson was President and fifty years ago Grover Cleveland was President and today I am President.

Today is another anniversary because I got a telegram on the train a couple of hours ago calling my attention to the fact that for the first time in fifty-five years we have just completed a whole year without the failure of a single national bank in the United

States. (Applause) I believe that that is pretty good proof of what we have done in the way of banking legislation and what we have done in the way of bringing prosperity back.

In leaving West Virginia, I can only tell you that I hope that what Jennings Randolph said by way of prophesy is right.

May your prosperity and that of the Nation continue the way it is heading today. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS TRAIN
CONNELLVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA
October 1, 1936

(There were about thirty thousand people in the audience. The President was introduced by Senator Duffey.)

My friends, I am glad to come back here. Senator Duffey has given me the exact date, July 7, 1919, when I came out to Connellsville to welcome home the veterans returning from the World War. Since that day, many things have happened. We have had prosperity and then, for long years, we had the kind of depression that made our hearts sick. But today, coming down the valley, I have been happy to see the smoke coming out of the chimneys once more. (Applause, cheers)

Today is another anniversary. I got a telegram a couple of hours ago announcing that for the first time in fifty-five years we have gone through one full year without the failure of a single national bank in the United States. (Applause) I think we are all happy to know that for the first time in history our deposits in the national banks are guaranteed

by the credit of the Federal Government. (Applause)

I have had a wonderful day coming down through West Virginia and up here into Pennsylvania. I wish I could go to every town in the United States because I get a thrill every time I see the difference between the condition of the people today from what it was in 1939. (Applause)

So, I am glad to see you and I hope there won't be a space of seventeen years before I get back here the next time. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
FORBES FIELD, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA
October 1, 1936, 9 P.M.

Mr. Chairman, Governor Earle, my friends
of Pennsylvania:

A baseball park is a good place to talk about box scores. Tonight I am going to talk to you about the box score of the government of the United States. I am going to tell you the story of our fight to beat down the depression and win recovery. From where I stand it looks as though the game is pretty well in the bag. (Applause)

I am convinced that when government finance or any other kind of finance is honest - and when all the cards are on the table - there (are) is no higher mathematics about it. It is just plain, scoreboard arithmetic. (Applause)

Now when the present management of your team took charge in 1933, the national scoreboard looked pretty bad. In fact, it looked so much like a shut-out for the team that you voted a change of management in order to give the country a chance to win the game. (Applause) And today we are winning it.

When the new management came to Washington, we began to make our plans -- plans to meet the immediate crisis -- and plans that would carry the people of the country back to decent prosperity.

(We) You and I and everybody else saw the millions out of work, saw the business concerns running in the red, saw the banks closing. Our national income had declined over fifty per cent -- and, what was worse, it showed no prospect of recuperating by itself. By national income I mean the total of all income of all the 125,000,000 people in this country -- the total of all the pay envelopes, all the farm sales, all the profits of all the businesses, (of) and all the individuals and corporations in America.

During the four lean years before this Administration took office, that national income that I am talking about had declined from eighty-one billions a year to thirty-eight billions dollars a year -- in short, you and I, -- all of us together -- were making forty-(three) one billions -- spelled with a "b" not "n" -- forty-one billion dollars less in 1932 than we made in 1929. (Applause)

Now, the rise and fall of national income -- since it tells the story of how much you and I and everybody else are making -- (is) are an index of the rise and fall of national prosperity. It is also an index of the prosperity of (the) your government. The money to run the government comes from taxes; and the tax revenue in turn depends for its size on the size of the national income. Thus when the incomes and the values and transactions of the country are on the down-grade, then tax receipts go on the down-grade too. And if the national income continues to decline then the government cannot run without going into the red. The only way to keep (a) the government out of the red is to keep the people out of the red. (Applause) And so we had to balance the budget of the American people before we could balance the budget of the national government. (Applause)

That makes common sense, doesn't it? ("Yes, yes", applause)

Well the box score when the Democratic Administration came (to bat) in in 1933 showed a net deficit in our national accounts of about \$3,000,000,000

accumulated in the three previous years under my predecessor. (Boos)

National income was (in) on a downward spiral. Federal Government revenues were ~~in~~ a downward spiral. To pile on vast new taxes would get us nowhere because values were going down, and that makes sense too.

And so on top of having to meet the ordinary expenses of government, I recognized the obligation of the Federal Government to feed and take care of the growing army of homeless and destitute unemployed.
(Applause)

Something had to be done, we all know that. A national choice had to be made. We could no one of two things. Some people (- who sat across my desk in those days -) urged me to let nature take its course and to continue a policy of doing nothing. I rejected that advice because nature was in an angry mood.

To have accepted (this) that advice, some people urged me, would have meant a continued wiping out of people of small means - the continued loss of their homes and farms and small businesses into the hands of people who still had enough capital left to

pick up those homes and farms and businesses at bankruptcy prices. It would have meant, in a very short time, the loss of all the resources of a multitude of individuals and families and small corporations. You would have seen, throughout the Nation, a concentration of property ownership in the hands of one or two per cent of the population, a concentration unequalled in any great nation since the days of the (later) Roman Empire. (Applause)

And so the program of this Administration (has protected) set out to protect the small business, the small corporation, the small shop and the small individual from the wave of deflation (which) that threatened them. We realized then, as we do now, that the vast army of small business men, and factory owners and shop owners form the backbone - together with our farmers and workers - the backbone of America. (of the industrial life of America.) In our long range plan we recognized that the prosperity of America depended upon, and would continue to depend upon, the prosperity of them all.

I rejected (that) the advice that was given

to me to do nothing for an additional reason. I had promised, and my Administration was determined, to keep the people of the United States from starvation. (Applause)

Yes, and I refused to leave human needs solely in the hands of local communities -- local communities which themselves were almost bankrupt.

To have accepted that advice would have been to offer bread lines again to the American people, knowing this time, however, that in many places the lines would last far longer than the bread. (Applause) And in those dark days, between us and a balanced budget, stood millions of needy Americans, denied the promise of (an) a decent American life. (Applause)

To balance our budget in 1933 or 1934 or 1935 would have been a crime against the American people. To do so we would either have had to make a capital levy that would have been confiscatory, or we would have had to set our face against human suffering with callous indifference. When Americans suffered, we refused to pass by on the other side. Humanity came first. (Applause)

(No one) Now, my friends, nobody with any

sense of responsibility lightly lays a burden on the income of a nation. But this vicious tightening circle of our declining national income (simply) had to be broken. The bankers and the industrialists of the Nation cried aloud that private business was powerless to break it. They turned, as they had a right to turn, to the Government itself. And we accepted the final responsibility of government, after all else had failed, the responsibility to spend money when no one else had money left to spend. (Applause)

I adopted, therefore, the other alternative. I cast aside (a) the do-nothing or (a) wait-and-see policy. (Applause)

As a first step in our program we had to stop the quick spiral of deflation and decline in the national income. Having stopped them, we went on to restore purchasing power, to raise values, to put people back to work, and to start the national income (upward) going up again.

Yes, in 1933 we reversed the policy of the previous Administration. For the first time since the depression you had a Congress and an Administration in

Washington which had the courage to provide the necessary resources which private interests no longer had or no longer dared to risk.

This cost money. We knew and you knew in March, 1933, that it would cost money. We knew and you knew that it would cost money for several years to come.

The people (themselves) understood that in 1933. They understood it in 1934 when they gave the Administration a full endorsement of its policy. They knew it in 1935, and they know it in 1936, that the plan is working. (Applause)

(Now) All right, my friends, let us look at the cost. Since we could not get the money by taxes and ought not to have gotten it by taxes in those years, we borrowed it, and we increased the public debt.

President Hoover's Administration increased the (national) debt in the net amount of over three billion dollars in three depression years and there was little to show for it. My Administration has increased the national debt in the net amount of (about) eight billion dollars and there is much to show for it.
(Applause)

(Put) Now, let us take that figure of eight billions out here on the scoreboard and let me tell you where the dollars went.

Over a billion and a half went for the payment of the World War Veterans' Bonus this year (Applause) instead of in 1945. (Applause) That payment is now out of the way, and is no longer a future obligation of the Government.

As for the other six and a half billions (of the deficit) we didn't just spend money -- we spent (it) money for something. America got something for what (we) it spent -- the conservation of human resources through CCC camps (Applause) (and) through work relief; (Applause) conservation of natural resources of water, soil and forest; billions for security and a better life. (Applause) And remember that while many who criticize today were selling America short, we were investing in the future of America. (Applause)

Contrast (these) those expenditures and what we got for them with certain other expenditures of the American people in the years between 1920 and 1930. During that period not merely eight billions but many

more billions, about fourteen billions came out of American pockets and were sent abroad -- to foreign countries where the money was used for increasing foreign armaments, for building foreign factories to compete with us, for building foreign (model) dwellings, swimming pools, (and) slaughter houses, for giving employment to the foreign unemployed - foreign boondoggling, if you (will) like it.

Now those dollars, fourteen billion of them, were just as good American money -- just as hard-earned -- just as much the reward of (our) thrift -- as the dollars that we have spent these three years at home giving work to the unemployed. But most of those dollars (sent) that went abroad, why they are gone for good. These billions, lost to us under previous Administrations, do not by the way include the other billions loaned by the United States to foreign governments during and immediately after the War.

And so I ask you the simple question: Hasn't it been a sounder investment for us during these past three years to spend eight billion(s) dollars for American industry, American farms, American homes and the care of American citizens? (Applause)

I have used the figure of eight billion dollars as representing the net increase in our national debt. Immediately people will rush into print or run to the microphone to tell you that my arithmetic is all wrong. (Laughter, applause) They will tell you that the increase in the national debt is thirteen billions instead of eight. Now, that is technically and morally just as correct as if someone were to try to scare you about the condition of your bank by telling you (of) all about its liabilities and not telling you of its assets. (Applause)

That is technically and morally just as correct as telling you good people (here) in Pennsylvania that none of your bank deposits or insurance policies are (sound) any good. (Applause)

When you are told that the United States Treasury has thirteen billions more of liabilities than it had in 1933, you should also be told that it has six billion dollars of increased assets to set off against these liabilities. (Applause)

Yes, in three years our net national debt has increased eight billions of dollars. But in two years

of the (late) recent War it increased as much as twenty-five billion dollars. National defense and the future of America were involved in 1917 and in 1918. National defense and the future of America were also involved in 1933. (Applause) Don't you believe that the saving of America has been cheap at that price? (Applause) (It was more than defense - it was more than rescue. It was an investment in the future of America.)

And, incidentally, tonight is an anniversary in the affairs of our Government (which) that I (wish) want to celebrate with you and the American people. It is October first, and it marks the end of a whole year in which there has been not a single national bank failure in all the United States. (Applause) It has been fifty-five years, not twelve long years, but fifty-five years since that kind of a record has been established. You and I can take this occasion to rejoice in that record. It is proof that the program has worked.

Compare the score board which you have in Pittsburgh now with the score board which you had when I stood here at second base in this field four years ago.

At that time, as I drove through these great valleys, I could see mile after mile of this greatest mill and factory area in the world, a dead panorama of silent black structures and smokeless stacks. I saw idleness and hunger instead of the whirl of machinery. Today as I came north from West Virginia, I saw mines operating, I found bustle and life, the hiss of steam, the ring of steel on steel - the roaring song of industry. (Applause)

And now (a) one word (as to) in closing about this foolish fear about the crushing load the debt will impose upon your children and mine. This debt is not going to be paid by oppressive taxation on future generations. It is not going to be paid by taking away the hard won savings of the present generation.

It is going to be paid out of an increased national income and increased individual incomes produced by increasing national prosperity. (Applause)

(The deficit of the national government has been steadily declining for three years running, although technically, this year it did not decline, because we paid the Bonus this year instead of 1945. Without the Bonus the deficit would have declined this year.)

The truth is that we are doing better than we anticipated in 1933. The national income has gone up faster than we dared then to hope. Deficits have been less than we expected. Treasury receipts are increasing, and, incidentally, the national debt today in relation to the national income is much less than it was in 1933, when this Administration took office.

One word more: here are some simple figures, get them in front of your mind: The national income was thirty-eight billions in 1932. In 1935 it was fifty-three billions and this year it will be well over sixty billions. If it keeps on rising at the present rate, as I am confident that it will - the receipts of the Government, without imposing any additional taxes will, within a year or two, be sufficient to cover for all ordinary and relief expenses of the Government - in other words, to balance the (annual) budget. (Applause)

The Government of this great Nation, solvent, sound in credit, is coming through a crisis as grave as war -- coming through without having sacrificed American democracy or the ideals of American life. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
MEDICAL CENTER, JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY

October 2, 1936

Senator Moore, Mayor Hague, My Friends and Neighbors
of Jersey City:

I don't think there is any person with red blood in their veins that could help but be thrilled by this wonderful sight before me. I don't think there is anybody with red blood in their veins that could help but be thrilled by these buildings behind me. (Applause) And so I am very happy to come here to take part in the dedication of this, the third largest medical institutional group in the whole of the United States.

The Mayor has been kind enough to say that this Medical Center would not have been possible without some financial help from the Federal Government. But, my friends, remember that it was not just financial help that created this Medical Center -- it was something more important than dollars and cents. It was a dream of your Mayor dating back many years. That is what built the Medical Center.

In the great work of taking care of sick people, the Federal Government and the local governments have been glad to play their part. It is true that the Public Works Administration in Washington has helped various communities in

increasing the capacity of American hospitals in the past two years by 50,000 beds.

(All of the foregoing was extemporaneous. It took the place of the following which appears in the copy released to the Press:

It is a privilege to take part in the dedication of this Medical Center -- the third largest medical institutional group in the United States.

I am happy, too, that the Federal Government, through its Public Works expenditures, has been able to be of assistance to the municipal government of Jersey City and to Hudson County in making this Center possible. As a matter of fact, the expenditures through the Public Works Administration are increasing the capacity of American hospitals by nearly 50,000 beds.)

During the depression we know the difficulty of obtaining funds through municipal or private sources would have meant a serious shortage in (caring for patients) taking care of sick people and in giving them adequate facilities had it not been for Federal assistance through loans and grants.

But there is another reason for increasing the bed capacity of the hospitals of the country. The Medical and

Nursing professions are right in telling us that we must do more, much more, to help the small income families in times of sickness.

Let me tell you with great sincerity (give the) of the great praise which is due to the Doctors and the Nurses of the Nation for all that they have done during (the depression) those difficult years that lie behind us, often at great sacrifice, in maintaining the standards of care for the sick and in devoting themselves without reservation to the high ideals of their profession.

(The Medical) And these professions can rest assured that the Federal Administration contemplates action only in their interest (no action detrimental to their interests.) I mention, just in passing, the splendid Social Security Act recently enacted by the Congress. (The) That action taken in the field of health (as shown by the provisions of the splendid Social Security Act recently enacted,) is clear.

For that Act sets up not merely the unemployment insurance for people who, through no fault of their own, get out of work, but also that Act contains four provisions that are very often forgotten, especially in the heat of a political campaign. Those four provisions have to do with health, (there are four provisions in the Social Security Act which deal with health;) and (these) those provisions received the support of outstanding Doctors during the hearings before the Congress. The American Medical Association, the American Public Health

Association and the State and Territorial Health Officers and I think the nurses' associations as well came out in full support of the public health provisions. The (American) Child Health Association and the Child Welfare League endorsed the maternal and child health provisions.

This in itself assures the Nation that the health plans will be carried out in a manner compatible with our traditional social and political institutions. Let me make that point very clear. All States and Territories are now cooperating with the Public Health Service. (All States except one) And nearly all of them are cooperating in maternal and child health service; (all States but ten in service to crippled children and all States but nine in child welfare.) and, last but not least, in service to the crippled children of the Nation.

Public support is behind this program. (But) Let me (stress, in addition,) add that the Act contains every precaution for insuring the (continued) support and cooperation of the Medical and Nursing profession.

And so in the actual administration of the (Social Security) Act which has just been put into effect we count on the cooperation in the future, (as hitherto,) of the whole of the Medical profession throughout the country. The overwhelming majority of the Doctors of the Nation want medicine kept out of politics. On occasions in the past attempts have been made to put medicine into politics.

Such attempts have always failed and always will fail.

Government, State and National, will call upon the Doctors of the Nation for their advice in the days to come.

(It is many long years ago that Mayor Hague and I discovered a common interest in the cause of the crippled child. This great Medical Center is, I know, close to his heart. I congratulate him on the fulfillment of a splendid dream. I congratulate Jersey City and Hudson County on modern facilities surpassed by no other community in America.)

(The following was extemporaneous:)

A great many years ago I discovered something and so did Mayor Hague. We discovered a common bond, a common interest in the cause of the crippled child. That common bond has persisted through the years. I have tried to help in my limited way. Frank Hague has done a great service, not only to you good people who are alive today in Jersey City and Hudson County, but a service that is going to last for many, many generations to come. It is a service than which there is no higher within the range or the bounds of human endeavor. Mayor Hague and his associates, Mayor Hague and the people of this city have pointed the way to many other communities in the Nation. May they see the fruition of this splendid dream.

And so I congratulate him especially on this fulfillment and, indeed, I congratulate Jersey City and Hudson County on the modern facilities that are surpassed by no other community in America. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL. EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
GROUND BREAKING CEREMONIES
QUEENS MIDTOWN TUNNEL, NEW YORK, N.Y.
October 2, 1936, 5:00 P.M.

(Hon. Alfred B. Jones, as Chairman of the New York City Tunnel Authority, presided. The speakers preceding the President were Jesse Jones, Senator Wagner, Secretary Ickes and Mayor LaGuardia. Mayor LaGuardia invited the President to attend the 1939 Worlds Fair. He also presented the President with a membership in the Operating Engineers Union.)

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

That card is a very essential part of this ceremony. They would not start that shovel to work without it.

I think the Mayor is right and I hope he is right about the capacity in which I am to come back here in 1939. (Applause) But even if I am a private citizen, I do want somebody to ask me to ride through the tunnel in the first procession that goes through. (Applause)

Now, I go back a long way - I go back four years more than half a century and that is why I am qualified to talk about the epic of Queens. It is one

of the most amazing stories in all of modern civilization, not only Queens but all these Boroughs of the City of New York. Half a century ago they were different cities and out here they were villages. In those days and here, within our own lifetime, we have seen a great Borough in the greatest city in the world grow until it has more than a million human beings living within its borders. Those human beings deserve good transportation.

When I was a small boy there was only the old Brooklyn Bridge and a lot of ferries. Sometimes, in the winter time, the ferries did not run because of the ice. If you wanted to get out into the country and see the green fields and the cows and the chickens, all you had to do was to take a ferry across to Queens. I believe there are still half a dozen farms in this Borough, but their days are numbered. So, in this half century of one generation, we have seen one of the greatest transitions that has ever occurred in the history of civilization.

I go back a few years to when I came back from Washington, after the World War, to practice law in New

York. At that time I attended a conference, I think it was in 1921 or 1922, to talk about a tunnel from Manhattan to Queens. It is true that it has taken fifteen years but, on the other hand, it has only taken, as the Mayor said, six or seven months since we put our shoulders to the wheel and got the bill through the Legislature at Albany and now here is the steam shovel.

I am very proud of what has been done. I am not only proud of the privilege that we have had in Washington in helping the City of New York in starting and completing a large number of very important public works, public works that will be useful, public works that are giving employment to thousands of men and women, but I want to say also that these public works which have been initiated would not have been possible had it not been for an intelligent, pushing, aggressive Administration in the City of New York.

(Applause)

Every once in a while our Mayor would slip down to Washington (Laughter) and when I heard he was coming in I would say to myself, "That is another five

or ten million." (Laughter) But we have not minded. We have been proud to help because the things which have been initiated in the Borough governments and in the Cities governments have been useful projects, things that had been badly needed and of course, as you know, there were four or five years there where the interest rates were so high and the lack of team work was so glaring that we fell behind in this great City and in all the other communities in carrying forward public works that were of the utmost importance. And so, in these last three years, we have been trying to catch up and I believe we are catching up.

I congratulate the people of Queens, the people of Manhattan and the people of the whole City on what is going to happen in about a minute and a half when, as a member of the Union, I press the button which will put the shovel in operation.

Are you ready? Let her go! (Cheers, prolonged applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
CUMBERLAND, MARYLAND
October 8, 1936, 3:35 P.M.

(The President was introduced by the Mayor of Cumberland, who referred to the fact that he had introduced the President when he was running for Vice President.)

I am not at all a stranger in Cumberland. I go back a great many years, even further than those days in 1920 when I was running for Vice President and the Mayor, who I am glad is still Mayor, introduced me. I go back to my very earliest days when my uncle used to live up on Mount Savage, so I know this region.

And in these later days, down in Washington, I have had a very close association with this end of Maryland on account of one man for whom I have a great attraction and a great respect and that is our old friend, Dave Lewis. (Applause)

I hope to come up sometime in the next four years, (Applause) and look over some of your problems. Of course, as you know, you people up here are in part responsible for floods down in Washington (Laughter) so,

in helping you in Cumberland, at this end of the River, to control floods and to generate some power on the side, we are going to help flood conditions in the National Capital.

I hope that in the next few years we will see the kind of water conservation carried out on the head waters of the Potomac that we will be doing in other watersheds of the Nation. That is why I think you can count on my coming back here sometime soon. (Applause)

(The President then introduced Mrs. Roosevelt and his daughter-in-law Betsy. He then told the audience that the radio announcer (is telling all about this party so that your family at home will know just as much as you do. I don't know what he is saying, but, from the expression on his face, it must sound favorable.")

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
OELWEIN, IOWA

October 9, 1936, 12.23 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Herring)

My Friends, I am very glad to come through here today. I have never been in this part of the State before and it was time for me to come here.

You know, I find it terribly hard after four years to start in making political speeches again. One reason is that I have been so tremendously engrossed in trying to bring things back for the last four years and that goes beyond the mere lines of party politics.

(Audience: I'll say so.)

There is one mighty nice thing about these trips and that is that so far as I can tell in going along the railroad, the expressions on the faces of the railroad men makes me think that they are all right. After all, we are all tied in together and that is the lesson I am preaching. We won't have successful railroads, we won't have greater employment on the railroads unless the farmers are prosperous. And the farmers won't be prosperous unless the city dwellers have enough money and enough work to buy what the farmers produce. (Applause)

And it goes all the way through the whole scale of human endeavor. The small merchants, they cannot sell their goods either to farm population or to city population unless there is buying power. What we have been trying to do in the past four years, from the point of view of economics, has been a comparatively simple objective -- getting people work and procuring buying power for them.

As I go through the country this year, in comparison with 1932, we see of course an enormous difference; it is an enormous difference in the prosperity of the country as a whole and, incidentally, that applies to every part of the Nation that I have been in. And I am not making one kind of a speech in the East and another kind of speech in the West. (Applause) I am not making one kind of a speech to the farm people and another kind of speech to industrial workers for the very simple reason that in the four years we have gained a great knowledge of the inter-dependence of every part of the Nation on every other part. If the men and women who work in clothing factories in the City of New York are out of a job, they do not buy so much pork. That kind of an example goes for every known product of the land.

I am especially glad that the railroads are getting back on their feet again. Of course the Government has had some share in getting them back on their feet again. We loaned them a lot of money and they are repaying it; it was a good investment. Just in the same way, the Government has helped

to get the banks back on their feet; we loaned them some money and it was a good investment.

And so my friends -- this is not a prepared speech -- I just want to talk to you as one neighbor to another, I don't pretend to be a farmer, I happen to be by profession a lawyer, but I have farmed the best part of my life up on the Hudson River and down in the State of Georgia, so I do know about some of the problems of agriculture in the United States. Every day that I go through this country I try to learn more about it, and it is going to stand me in good stead whether I go back to the White House or not for the next four years.

(Audience: You are going back! (Applause)

And, incidentally, I get a tremendous kick out of it.

It is good to see you all. (Prolonged applause, cheers)

(Mrs. Roosevelt said, "I leave the speaking on campaign trips to the one who makes the campaign.")

(Laughter)

The President: Prices are a bit better than they were, are they not?

Audience: Yes.

The President: We have lost Congressman Bierman. Has anybody seen him?

Governor Herring: He is probably up ahead.

Mrs. Roosevelt: I would like to thank the Chamber of Commerce for the flowers because they are

very lovely and also for the warm welcome.

(The train was delayed in starting because
the brakes failed to work.)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN

HAYFIELD, MINNESOTA

October 9, 1936, 2.35 P.M.

I am glad to come to this section of Minnesota. I have never been on this railroad before. I hope in the next three or four years to come through by automobile and get a better idea of this country. (Applause)

One of the greatest things we ought to think a lot about in this campaign is what happened in the last four years with respect to our national point of view. I think we have gained in every section of the United States in an understanding that the prosperity in one section of the country is absolutely tied in with the prosperity in all the other parts of the country. Even back in the Eastern States and cities they are beginning to realize that the purchasing power of the farmers of the Northwest will have a big effect on the industry and the industrial workers' prosperity back in the East.

Just in the same way, I know you realize that if the factories in the big industrial cities are running full speed, people will have more money to buy foodstuffs.

I am told by the experts, and it is an interesting fact, that if every family in the United States had what might be called a class-A diet, that is to say the kind of a diet that

the doctors and dieticians would like us to have for our own good and for our own health, we would have to put 40,000,000 acres more land into production of foodstuffs. The thing, in the last analysis, comes down to the question of purchasing power. And we have raised the purchasing power in this country from about 38 billion dollars in 1932 to over 60 billion dollars this year. (Applause)

And we haven't stopped yet. (Applause)

So I am very happy, after four years of not campaigning, to come out here and think not only in National terms but also to think in terms of the country as applied to what kind of a Government we are going to have in the next four years. (Applause) Somebody says, "The same one we've got." I have a sneaking suspicion that that is right.

It is good to see you all. You know, one of the interesting things about trying to campaign and be President too is that almost every station we come to there is a telephone message from Washington and they string a wire from a pole or out of the station through a car window and somebody talks directly from the train with one of the Departments, perhaps with the Treasury Department in relation to the stabilization of foreign exchange, or with the State Department in relation to what is going on, perhaps, in far distant lands. Here I am, pretty nearly in the center of the country, and yet I can keep in touch with the Government in Washington almost every hour of the day or night.

(Audience: Are we going to fight?)

The President: I hope we will never fight again as long as you and I are alive. Of course, the interesting thing is that while things are in pretty dangerous condition in Europe or in other parts of the world, this idea of the good-neighbor policy that we have established pretty satisfactorily in this hemisphere, not only with Canada on the North but with all the Republics on the South, that good-neighbor policy seems to be catching hold with the people themselves in other parts of the world. If in the long run the people get it, then the people who run those countries will get it too. So I believe that our foreign policy is making for peace throughout the world. (Applause)

Goodbye and good luck. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

AT DOWLING SCHOOL FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

October 9, 1936, 6.00 P.M

This welcome that you children have given me reminds me very much of the welcome that the children give me down in Warm Springs, Georgia. Down there, like here, there are a lot of them with wheel-chairs and a lot of them with crutches and a lot of them with arm-rests, but they have the same kind of cheerful faces you children have.

I am glad the Federal Government has been able to help the School of Minneapolis, especially in helping to build the swimming pool. I hope that all of you will be able to learn how to swim because that is about the only exercise I can take and I know how much you will enjoy it if you learn.

It is fine to come here today. I am glad to see all of you. I wish I could go through the School and see the work you are doing and some day I know that I will be able to come and have the time to see what you are doing.

Many thanks. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE STATE CAPITOL BUILDING
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA
October 9, 1936, 7:20 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Senator Shipstead.)

Senator Shipstead, Chief Justice Devaney,
my friends of Minnesota:

May I first of all tell you of the wonderful
thrill that I have had the past two hours in driving
through St. Paul and Minneapolis because of the wonder-
ful reception that you have given me.

I am glad to be here on Lief Ericson Day. I
only wish that I might stay for that football game to-
morrow. My difficulty would be that, as President I
would have to be extremely neutral. (Applause)

(The foregoing was extemporaneous.)

As most of you know, I had planned to visit
Minnesota on my trip of inspection to the drought areas
the end of August. The untimely death of the Secretary
of War kept me away. It was at that time also that this
State suffered a very great loss in the passing of a

virile (and) magnetic liberal American leader, Floyd Olson. He had been my friend for many years. Let me tell you from the bottom of my heart that I miss him (greatly) today.

Much water has run over the dam since (Floyd Olson presided at the great gathering to which I spoke in the spring of 1932) those days in 1932 when, as Governor of New York, I was the guest of Governor Olson in this very building, the same day that he presided at a great gathering in this City. During these more than four years, one of our most important national achievements has been the strides that we have made everywhere in thinking in national terms. And if I remember it, sitting in Governor Olson's office with him, occupying at his insistence his Governor's chair, that was what we were talking about, making American safe in national terms. (Never before has America been so united.) And as a result of those four years America has never been so united as it is today.

I have used in Iowa and southern Minnesota on one or two occasions the example that the great industrial centers of the East are coming to realize that their

prosperity is dependant on the farmers of the West.

We have come to understand that the agricultural prosperity of the Northwest is directly affected also by the agricultural prosperity and the city prosperity of all the rest of the country. I have farms, two of them, one in New York and the other in Georgia. Georgia will buy Minnesota flour if Georgia gets a decent price for its cotton. And Minnesota will buy overalls made of Georgia cotton if north Minnesota gets a decent price for its wheat. (Applause)

These are lessons, national lessons that seem very obvious to us today and yet it is not so very long ago that we had no policy at all or else were barking up the wrong tree. People in the manufacturing cities will find more employment at better wages if the farm families of the Nation have the wherewithal to purchase manufactured goods. That is obvious. And the farmers of the Nation will sell larger crops at better prices if the industrial workers in the cities have more money to buy dairy products, vegetables, fruit, pork and beef.

And so also in our local and sectional relationships -- relationships between the various farm regions and between city and country -- we have in these four years

come to recognize the closeness of the interdependence and the usefulness of the cooperative ideal.

It was four years ago that I became greatly interested in a problem of cooperation. It was the building of the nine foot channel all the way down the river. And I told my old friend, your senior Senator, that I expected in the next four years not only that it will be finished but that I will have the pleasure of coming up here to the Twin Cities and getting on a boat and going all the way down to New Orleans. (Applause)

That is one form of cooperation and another one you know about here is the cooperation between the Federal Government, the State Government and the Local Government in conserving the water of this great State. I would like to see millions more of people coming up here to the Land of the Lakes.

Yes, Minnesota is a good place to talk about farm cooperatives. Here dairy and live stock farmers have pioneered and pointed the way. Here and in Wisconsin have been built the greatest cooperative organizations in the Nation for processing and marketing dairy products.

When (in 1933 this) three and a half years ago

the Administration undertook to meet the desperate and long neglected needs of agriculture, we turned to the cooperative idea, and called to Washington representatives of the great cooperatives and other farm organizations to work out a program (with us) for us.

The Triple A itself had as its foundation and its essence, the cooperative idea. Administered locally by community committees selected by the farmers themselves, it was a picture of economic democracy in action. And as you know, I believe in action. (Applause) I pay my tribute -- with the rest of the Nation -- to the patriotic zeal of the committees of farmers who did so much through their earnest cooperation for our adjustment and conservation program. The farmers of America will not forget what they have done, and what they are doing.

Yes, this Administration from the very start, came to the support of the cooperative ideal by vigorous action. That support has continued. That support will continue. (Applause)

(It established a central bank for cooperatives with twelve regional banks to aid in marketing and purchasing.

It held out the helping hand of credit to production credit associations to enable farmers to

finance production through their own banks.

The Triple A has worked directly with the cooperatives in their marketing agreement program. By loans to cooperatives we have helped to bring the comforts of electricity to many farms of the Nation.

We did not stop at merely lending money. When farm prices were threatened, the Administration held them up by purchasing surplus products through farm cooperatives for distribution to hundreds of thousands of families faced with hunger in our great cities.)

Nevertheless, while the Federal Government can help through its resources, and you know the many ways in which we have used national resources to help localities, nevertheless we in Washington have recognized that cooperation and cooperatives must come from the people themselves. Government can see to it that the rules of the game are fair as between cooperative enterprise and other enterprise. But the initiative, the management itself must spring from, and carry on from, the bottom up rather than (from) the top down. (Applause)

(This Administration is) And so we are determined to continue in active support (to) of the ever-growing farm cooperative movement.

I am happy in the strengthening of this movement at home. But, my friends, let us remember that the

same spirit of cooperation is an essential part of our relations with the other nations of the world. It is this realistic factual appreciation of the benefits of cooperation that lies behind our consistent and successful efforts to reestablish foreign markets for our farm products.

You will remember back three and a half years, in the spring of 1933 our American foreign trade had fallen off to about a third of its former value. That was what I inherited. (Applause)

Let us go back to fundamentals some more. The very word "trade" means articles of commerce flowing in two directions. It is not a one-way street. And at last we have come to understand this in our domestic trade within our own borders. For instance, no single state can produce either crops or merchandise and continue indefinitely to sell them to other states for money alone. Eventually, they have to be paid for in other products as well.

Foreign trade is just like that. There cannot be a revival of foreign exports without a revival of foreign imports -- unless, of course, we do as we did

between 1920 and 1930 -- lend our money to foreign nations to enable them to buy our own farm and industrial products. (Laughter, applause)

But I have a suspicion that America has learned her lesson once and for all about that kind of frenzied finance. (Laughter, applause)

The Secretary of State of the United States has spoken in Minnesota, the day before yesterday, clearly and unequivocally in regard to the trade agreements that have been made with fourteen foreign countries for mutual trade advantage. He pointed out to you the chapter and verse of the statistical record which shows what these agreements have accomplished to increase the trade and income not only of the industrial workers but of the farmers of the Nation. It was not a question of winning or losing any treaty. Mutual advantage has been the successful objective; and our exports during the first half of this year, as compared with last year, have increased by one hundred and thirty-two million dollars. (Applause)

(To Canada, our neighbor) And to our good
neighbors in Canada on the north, the twenty-four
on the north, the twenty-four

million dollars of our increased exports during the first six months have included not only exports of manufactured articles but also agricultural (exports) products. American industry and American agriculture are both benefitting by increased general trade and, my friends, the figures prove it. (and our growing consumption and better farm prices prove it.)

I wish every American - city dweller and farmer alike - (ought to) could fasten this home truth in his memory! When the nations of the world, including America, had jacked their tariffs to the highest point and enacted embargoes and imposed quotas - in those days farm prices throughout the world were at their lowest, and world trade had almost ceased to exist. (Applause)

But, today, under the leadership of the United States, other nations of the world are coming to recognize that home truth. Back in 1932, although there was a tariff on wheat of forty-two cents a bushel, you all know that the wheat which you produced up here in the Northwest was selling as low as thirty cents (per) a bushel. There were no farm imports then to worry about; but low prices were plenty to worry about. (Applause)

Within the past two weeks, just as an example, splendid progress has been made in giving a greater stability to foreign exchange. Within that same time there have been lifted many quotas and embargoes including those on important American agricultural export products.

But, my friends, the increasing restoration of trade, the increase in (of) industry, (and of) the increase in employment, they serve more than a mere economic end. For three years we have had faith that it would turn us and other nations away from the paths of economic strife which lead to war and toward economic cooperation which leads to international peace. (Applause)

Peace cannot be attained (merely) in this old world of ours just by getting sentimental about it. Peace depends upon the acceptance of the principle and practice of the good neighbor. That practice is founded on the Golden Rule and must be fortified by cooperation of every kind between nations.

Peace makes money; peace saves money for everybody. (Applause) A prosperous world, just the opposite to a bankrupt world - a prosperous world has no permanent

room in it for dictatorship or (for) war. (Applause)

And so, in striving for peace, I am confident that the American people seek it with their hearts and with their heads as well. Enlightened self interest is justification for what we do.

So, my friends, confident in the practical wisdom of the ends we seek, with full faith that it will serve in a practical way for peace on earth and good will between men and nations, (we shall) we are going in the years to come to continue on our way. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
CRESTON, IOWA

October 10, 1936, 9.10 A.M.

Good Morning. This is a grand crowd, perfectly fine.

I am glad to get into this section of the State. I understand that you good people were pretty hard hit by the drought this year. As you know, I have been going around the United States trying to get at first-hand information in regard to drought conditions and a lot of other conditions.

I am glad to come here for another reason. I understand that Henry Wallace was born about fourteen miles from here. (Applause)

Down in Washington we have never had a Secretary of Agriculture, certainly in our generation, who has understood the farm problems as well as Henry Wallace, and who has tied it into the National economy as well as he has.

I speak about National economy because Creston is a pretty good example of what I mean. There are a lot of railroad men in this town. There are more jobs on the railroads. The railroads of the country are picking up. We have helped them with Federal loans and they are paying them back, by the way, but their prosperity is caused by the fact that a greater volume of goods is moving over the

tracks. That means National economy in the best sense. It means more food products, more manufactured products but, most important of all and behind it all, more purchasing power. Looking at you people, I should say that you had, in spite of the drought, more purchasing power than you had in 1932. (Applause)

The Federal Government, in thinking about this problem for four years, undertook at the very beginning to help in raising purchasing power. Yes, we have incurred a deficit but I will put it to you this way: Suppose I were to say to anybody in this crowd, "If you, by borrowing \$800 could increase your annual income \$2200 every year, would you do it?" (Applause)

Well, that, in effect, is what happened to the country. We have increased the National debt a net of a little less than 8 billion dollars and we have increased the National annual income of the Nation over 22 billion dollars. (Applause)

Of course, in a campaign, all kinds of figures are presented, but most of them are presented by people who never read the budget of the United States Government. And you can take my word for it, as one who has read it a great many time -- and it is bigger than a Sears Roebuck catalogue -- that what I am telling you is strictly according to the figures.

I am glad to have been here. I wish I could get out and drive around and see the conditions. On this problem

of the drought, as you know, we are using every means at the disposal of the Federal Government to keep us from having as bad droughts in the future. We cannot regulate the weather altogether but we are cooperating with the different States, and the local governments in trying to prevent future droughts from being as bad as they are today.

So, my friends, I am glad to have been here and I wish I could stay longer.

There are a number of distinguished people on the platform with me. The Governor has already spoken to you. Mr. Baldrige (a candidate for Congress) is here, and Henry Wallace is here. It is good to see you.
(Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
RED OAK, IOWA

October 10, 1936, 10.15 A.M.

(The President was introduced by Congressman Wearin. There were about 10,000 people in the audience.)

Good Morning. I am glad to have a chance to come into this section. I have been hearing a lot about this section from Congressman Wearin in Washington for a good many years.

It is a big problem that we are facing. It is a problem which is going to be solved for one very good reason and that is that the people of the United States know more about government than they did four years ago. (Applause)

I realize and you realize, of course, in this part of Iowa that you have had a drought, a pretty severe drought, and you know the steps we are taking by cooperation with the local governments and the State governments to help these drought conditions and so to order things that, in the future, while we will have droughts again, their effects will not be as serious as they have been this year.

Yet, at the same time, we know there is the exact opposite of drought and that is the possibility of piling up the kind of surplus of agricultural products that we were

faced with when I first went to Washington. We all know what the result of that surplus was as well as we know what the result of the drought is. What we are trying to do is to get a balanced system of economy in the United States, and I believe that the people all over realize that no one section of the country can be prosperous unless the other sections of the country are prosperous.

The city dwellers have to have money to buy food and more food. Somebody in the Department of Agriculture worked out last year, in cooperation with a lot of expert doctors and dieticians, a survey of what the people of the United States eat. Then they put down as Class A, the diet that we ought all to have. Then Diet B was a pretty good diet but not the best. And they found that we are living today, in the United States, on Diet C. Now, that is the actual fact.

Why is it? It is because people have not the purchasing power for either a B-diet or an A-diet and, incidentally, if we had, all of us, the proper kind of diet in the United States we would have to put 40,000,000 acres more land back into the production of foodstuffs.

It has been a tremendously interesting experience in these past three and a half years to go around the United States and survey the agricultural problems. I believe we have made some real strides, but we haven't gone far enough

yet. We are going further along the lines we have taken already and, at the same time, we are going to work on new things.

Somebody talked about a policy that changes its model every year. Well, isn't the automobile better than it was twenty years ago? It is the same principle. Every year they get out a model that is a little better than it was twenty years ago. And so, while Model-T farming may have been all right ten years ago, we have got away from it and we have a model 1936 farming. (Applause)

I have a number of very distinguished people up here on the platform. There is an old friend of mine from down in Shenandoah, Earl May, there is Congressman Wearin himself, and also here is a neighbor of yours, Senator George Norris of Nebraska. (Applause)

It is mighty good to see you. I wish I could through the country in an automobile instead of on a train, but I am going to come back during the next four years.

Goodbye and good luck. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
PACIFIC JUNCTION, IOWA
October 10, 1936, 11:17 A.M.

(The President was introduced by Congressman Wearin. There were about a thousand people in the audience.)

Good morning. I am glad to come to Congressman Wearin's home county.

We have had an awfully interesting couple of days. I can see, by looking at your corn, that you people out here in this corner of the State have been through a drought. Of course, as you know, we are doing all we can to work out the principle of cooperative government between local government and state government and Washington to try to improve the drought conditions all through this area from here west and I think we are getting somewhere. We are recognizing the principle of home rule.

Of course there are all kinds of campaign stories going around that the average citizen with a little common sense does not pay much attention to.

(Laughter)

Just for example, we got a telegram on the train this morning from a certain section of the country saying that there are a lot of people going around to people's homes saying that the debt of the United States, if I get reelected, is going to be liquidated by levying a tax on everybody's home and farm in the United States. That is a pretty good example of what some people are reduced to. And yet, you know it is an interesting fact that there are still some people in this country that do not know that taxes on real estate are used only for local and state purposes. In fact, in most states they are used only for local purposes.

We have been learning a lot in the last four years about government and just so long as we keep on taking an interest in government, I am not much worried about the future of the democratic form of government under our Constitution. (Applause)

You hear a lot about debts. Well, a little further up the road I put a question to a big crowd that was out. We have borrowed eight billion dollars more than we owed four years ago and here is the question:

Suppose somebody went to you and said if you will borrow eight hundred dollars it will increase your annual income every year by more than twenty-two hundred dollars, would you do it or not? (Applause)

Well, all you have to do to get a picture of American national finance is just add a whole lot of zeros to those figures. In other words, we have gone into debt eight billion dollars net, a little less than that, but the annual income today is over twenty-two billion dollars each year more than it was in 1932. I call that a pretty good investment. (Applause)

I am looking forward to coming out here again during the next four years. Things here are a lot better than they were in 1932 and things are going to be a lot better by 1940 than they are now. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
PLATTSMOUTH, NEBRASKA
October 10, 1936, 11:30 A.M.

(There were about a thousand people in the audience)

Well, I brought one of the best parts of Nebraska into Nebraska with me, Senator Norris. (Applause)

And here is my wife. (Applause)

(AUDIENCE: Why don't you introduce the Secretary of Agriculture?)

I did not see Henry behind me. There's one thing about him, as a neighbor he knows your problems in Nebraska pretty well.

Secretary Wallace: That is right, but if it were not for this man (indicating the President) we would not be able to do what we have been doing.

The President: I think we will make things better in the next four years. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
GREELEY, COLORADO
October 12, 1936, 9 A.M.

(The President was introduced by Fred Cummings.
The audience numbered about fifteen thousand.)

Good morning. I have just got through breakfast and I am glad to come back here to be introduced by Fred Cummings who is an old friend of mine.

The last time I stood here I think was with Mrs. Roosevelt in the year 1920 when I was running for Vice President. A lot of things have happened since that time.

For example, I know of a lot of things that have happened to the beet sugar industry. I want to tell you a story about that. It relates to beets and it relates to a lot of other things. Way back in 1932, in the campaign, a man brought on the train a list showing the fluctuations of prices of various raw materials, agricultural commodities, costs of cattle, sheep, cotton, mining commodities such as gold and silver and copper, so forth and so on. I found from that list that

all these commodities had fluctuated an average of four hundred per cent up or down -- up and down between 1920 and 1932. Well, I don't believe there is any permanent prosperity in a commodity that fluctuates four hundred per cent up or down any more than there is in your buying a mortgage or buying a home that fluctuates four hundred per cent up or down. Therefore, back in 1932 we laid a plan to try to iron out these up and down fluctuations and try to get commodities to a more stable year in and year out price level.

I think we have accomplished a good deal along that line. Sugar beets form one pretty good example. The average grower of sugar beets has, I think, recognized the fact that he is better off if he knows approximately, when he puts his seed in the ground, what the price is going to be when he harvests his crop, rather than having the advantage or the disadvantage of a highly fluctuating, speculative market. Whenever there are great fluctuations in prices, the only seller who really ever makes any permanent money is the speculator and that is why we have tried to stabilize, in large part, the prices of various farm commodities and other commodities as well.

I am saying this to you merely to give you one little slant on the general policy that the Government has been following through/during the last four years. I think that in the long run it is going to be a sound policy for the country, whether it applies to the raw products of the soil or the raw products of the mines. (Applause)

If you are interested in following it further, go and get a chart of the prices of any of these raw materials from the nearest library and see what I mean. If you will draw a line showing the prices as they have advanced or declined you will have a zigzag line that would horrify you if you checked it back for only about fifteen years.

I am going on down to Denver and then down to Pueblo. It is the first time that I have actually been down in the middle part of the State since I took office in 1933. I have, however, been what they call "a traveling President." I have been trying to keep in touch with the Nation. I have been pretty well all around the Colorado and I have touched a corner of Colorado several times. I am glad now to be able to go into the

State and see at first hand some of the conditions because I think it is going to help in the next four years. (Applause)

(The President then introduced Mrs. Roosevelt and a number of the gentlemen who were on the platform with him, including Governor Blood of Utah. He then said, "Good-Bye" and the train pulled out.)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT FITZSIMMONS HOSPITAL,
DENVER, COLORADO
October 12, 1936

I am glad to see you boys. I also want to send a message to all of the men who were in the War. When I was out here four years ago there was some talk about abolishing this hospital. I wasn't President then, but I fell in love with the hospital, and it is still here.

This is a wonderful site and I am awfully glad to see all of you out here. Your Commanding Officer was just telling me there are some men here who came straight to this hospital from the ship on the way back from France. When I came back from France I came back with double pneumonia, which laid me up for a couple of weeks.

And so, I am going to come back here and see you again, and in the meantime you can be quite sure that this hospital is going to continue just as long as I am President.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

DENVER, COLORADO

October 12, 1936, about 11.00 A.M.

Governor Johnson, my friends, I am glad to come back to this very beautiful city. I am glad to come back and see you good people, many of whom I have seen before in previous years. And today is October 12th. America pauses today to honor Christopher Columbus.

America pauses today to honor Christopher Columbus -- a great Italian whose vision and leadership and courage pointed the way to this new world of ours. Once launched upon this great voyage, he did not turn back and neither are we. (There were those who offered him the counsel of despair. There were those who thought that the price they were paying was too great. But the valiant admiral, firm to his purpose, sailed on. And all America pays him tribute today.)

The spirit that animated those voyagers four centuries ago is not alien to these western plains and mountains. You are scarcely removed one generation from men and women who, cast in the same mold, sought to conquer nature for the benefit of the nation.

It is from the rich diversity of climate, soil and people that this country has always derived its strength. The lives of you men and women in the mountains and plains

are tied up with those on the farms and in the cities.

It seems to me that in our unified national economic life, we (now know) have come to realize that industry is not immune if agriculture or mining languishes.

The great but uneven prosperity of the nineteen-twenties made us neglect for too long (a period) the growing signs that things were not going right with the farmer and miner.

Surely by now we have learned that lesson. Surely you remember the idleness of your gold and silver, and copper and coal and lead and zinc mines, your oil fields, your railroads, your farms, (and) your ranches -- all of them had suffered together in the collapse of prices and income.

And when that stream of business had dried on the farms, (and) plains and (in the) hills, the stream of business in the cities throughout the Nation also dried up.

In the complete stagnation of business, of mines and of farms, there was only one agency capable of starting things going again -- the Government -- not local government, not forty-eight State governments, because they, strive as they would, had reached the limit of their resources, but the Federal Government itself. And yet, up to March 4, 1933, the Federal Government held back, doing nothing except to lend dollars to people at the top with the vain hope that some of it would trickle down, and they did nothing except to fold their arms, stand still and wait there for a certain

famous corner to come to them.

When this Administration came in, its first act was to discover where the corner was and then to turn it. Now (The) that turning of it involved action and the action was based on two obvious and simple methods of locomotion. First, by spending money to put people to work, and, secondly, by lending money to stop people from going broke.

It meant doing (these) those two things in the industrial East, and in the South, and in the Middle West, on the Plains, in the Rockies and out on the Coast. We knew (that) the only practical way to turn the corner was to start the whole country turning (it) the corner at the same time.

One of the first jobs we undertook was the assistance to the miners and farmers in the West.

Those of you who now see business moving again in your local (shops and) stores and factories know that your merchant's goods began to move off his shelves for the first time -- that the wheels of your factories and mills began to turn for the first time -- only after the Government had begun to spend money and had provided employment for millions of people on all kinds of projects.

Of course, we spent money. It went to put needy men and women without jobs to work, and to buy materials the processing of which put other men and women to work. You

on the plains and throughout the great mountain area can judge for yourselves whether the work was worth doing.

Washington, D. C. did not originate the projects. You did. You told us where reclamation projects were needed. You told us where water should be conserved. You told us where floods should be controlled. You told us where new homesteads should be located. You told us how Denver wanted to get its new water supply. You told us where roads needed to be improved. You told us, in short, in every state and city and county throughout this great region and, indeed, throughout these United States, the most practical way of giving work and at the same time creating public improvements of a permanent useful character. And in the overwhelming majority of cases your advice was good.

Today in the late autumn of 1936 it is a pitiful spectacle to see Republican leaders call this great program waste and extravagance -- it is a pitiful spectacle -- for they are the same leaders who, when their own state or city or county was involved, were the first to run to Washington pleading for Federal aid. Consistency is still a virtue in life but when it comes to a campaign year "consistency" is a word that cannot be found in the Republican campaign vocabulary. (And, at that, inconsistency is a mild term to apply to it.)

Take the effective example of livestock. If we had had more irrigation, more reservoirs, in the past, fewer

cattle and sheep would have been threatened with starvation on the range during (the) those drought years.

Lack of foresight on the part of former Administrations compelled us to buy up sheep and cattle which otherwise would have died in their tracks from lack of food and water.

This Administration is proud that it spent money to buy cattle and sheep in those days.

Republican leaders in the rank and file of the Party, the leadership of the Party, tell us that this, too, was a policy of waste.

Who benefited? The stockman who found a market and was literally saved from bankruptcy; the banker who held the mortgage on (the) his stock; the merchant with whom the stockman and the banker both dealt; the packer who processed the meat? But above all those who benefited most were the unfortunate men and woman and children on the relief rolls -- hundreds of thousands of families all over the (country) nation -- to whom the meat was distributed and even the hides of (these) the animals were saved.

I call that work-program and cattle-buying program an investment to preserve America -- the whole of American national life. Do you call it waste?

Much talk is heard about imports hurting the cattle industry. (The) But the simple truth is that cattle imports have always been small, and always will be small as long as we have good range in the West and maintain our soil fertility

in the Corn Belt. Cattle imports were largest when prices were best, as in 1929. Cattle imports were smallest when prices were lowest, as in 1932 and early 1933. The income to cattlemen in the first six months of 1933, when Canadian imports were less than 500 head, was less than one half of what it was in the first six months of 1936 when Canadian imports were larger, but still were only a trickle compared (to) with domestic production. I believe it is better to prosper with small imports from Canada than it is to sink into depression and stay there with no imports at all.

Our cattle programs were carried out in cooperation with the stockmen themselves. And now also in the protection and development of the range we are acting in cooperation with them. Stock raising is a major industry in America. Its successful future shall be preserved.

Twenty years ago I was in the Mississippi Valley at the time of a great flood. I saw the waters of the Arkansas surge into the waters of the Mississippi. I asked where those waters came from. They told me that a part of them had come all the hundreds and hundreds of miles, all the way from Colorado. Farther up the river I saw the Missouri discharging its waters into the waters of the Mississippi. I asked where (these waters had come) they came from. They told me that a part of them had come from the Dakotas, from Montana, from Wyoming and from Colorado.

In later years I saw the bed of the Arkansas River

bone dry; I saw many of the tributaries of the Missouri River bone dry.

It has been a part of our program from the very beginning to conserve the water resources of the country so that the beds of the rivers of all the important watersheds (of America) will work for the people of all the States through which they run.

There is nothing new in this. Way back in the summer of 1934, when I was starting (dedicating) the Fort Peck Dam in Montana, I said this:

"People talk about the Fort Peck Dam as the fulfillment of a dream. Why, it is only a small portion of a dream. The dream itself covers all the important watersheds of the states, and one of these watersheds is what we call the watershed of the Missouri, (River) not only the main stem of the Missouri, but countless tributaries that run into it, and countless of the tributaries that run into these tributaries.

"Before men -- before American men and women get through with the job, we are going to make every ounce and every gallon of water that flows from the heavens and the hills count before it makes its way down to the Gulf of Mexico."

I want to see that day come soon. It will help each and every state which lies between here and the Mississippi (River). The work which we have already put under way to realize that dream is (but) only a forerunner of what we hope to do in the days to come.

There were other (great) resources of this great western country, the development of which we undertook as an important

and necessary part of the rounded objective. Take beet sugar for (an example) instance. I do not have to recite the record of steadily declining income in that industry before March, 1933. World production of sugar had expanded at such a rate that there was more sugar (than) in the world than could possibly be consumed. What we tried to do, and what we succeeded in doing, was to adjust the supply of sugar so that a farmer who raises it gets a more adequate return. And you, the raisers of sugar beets, I congratulate (on) also not alone on better and steadier prices. I congratulate you also on a substantial reduction in the employment of hired children in the fields. In this word of thanks I know I am joined by the fathers and mothers of America.

Take a final example -- in these great mountain chains which extend from our northern to our southern border, exists a storehouse of enormous wealth; its ultimate yield as yet unguessed.

The revival of industry, of farming and of transportation have provided a revival of mining -- coal and iron and oil and copper and lead and zinc and many other metals.

But the Government has contributed by direct action as well. When we laid the ghost of the old gold parity of the dollar, when we purchased gold and purchased silver too, you in the mountains felt the old thrill of the search for precious metal. Old developments (again) became profitable. New developments sprang up. Mining became again an industry

where men could find jobs.

The great bullion reserves now in the United States Treasury, and you in Denver know something about them, are sufficient to redeem every dollar of our currency far more than one hundred per cent, and yet people for partisan purposes are willing to spread the gospel of fear that our currency is not on a sound foundation. I tell you, and you know, that our monetary system is the soundest in the world today.

I tell you, and I think you will agree, that we are around the corner. Private employment is picking up. That means that Government expenditures for work for the unemployed are coming down. That means that the total of Government expenditures will decline, and turning the corner also means that Government income from existing taxes, without new taxes, is going up.

And so I repeat to you what I said in Pittsburgh (a week and a half) two weeks ago, that decrease in expenditures and increase in income mean within a year or two a balanced budget and the beginning of reduction in the national debt.

When Republican leaders speak out here they proclaim their sympathy with all of these western projects and promise you more and more of them. They cost money -- they cost a lot of money. (When they) But when these same gentlemen speak to audiences in the East they proclaim that they are going to cut Government expenditures to the bone. If you

will look in your history books you will find that about two thousand years ago there was an old Roman god named Janus, Janus had two faces. He faced both ways. He had two mouths and I need not explain that parable any further.

Are you (willing) going to turn America, are you willing to turn America over to those who in past years shut their eyes to the problems of this nation?

(This Administration has shown the way because it had) I believe in all sincerity that those in the Congress and in the Administration who are associated with me have shown the way because we have had the will to do.

We have sought and found practical answers to the problems of industry and agriculture and mining. We have clung to no outworn method as an excuse for failure to act. We have had faith not in panaceas, but in the courage and resourcefulness of men and women to meet their problems themselves if given a chance, an opportunity that is the right of every American. We have used the resources of the Government to give that chance, not to a favored few, but to all the people of this great nation with all of their richly diversified interests.

So we are made firm by the same spirit that made Columbus surge on -- by the same spirit that made the ancestors of you who dwell in these mountains and on these plains win through the untrailed wilderness across turbulent

rivers and unknown plains and deserts, over unscaled heights, to claim, develop and hold a new (and great) empire for America.

We have shown our determination in the past by action. And you can trust us to prove that determination in the future by more action, sound action, action that is saving and will continue to save the Constitutional representative form of government in which (we) all America rejoices.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO
October 12, 1936, 2:51 P.M.

(There were about three thousand people in the audience.)

My friends, I think that four years ago we had a big crowd in Colorado Springs and today it is just twice as big. (Applause)

(Audience: Twice as many votes, too.)

That is a good idea and I hope that you are twice as happy as you were in 1932.

I am glad to see all these signs telling me to look at things. That is just what I am doing in coming out here, just what I have been doing on a good many trips in the last four years, trying to get to know this country better. I have seen the Garden of the Gods in Colorado Springs on several occasions before and some day I want to come up here and spend a week or two. (Applause)

You know, there has been a good deal of difference in tourists. In 1932, when I came out through

here, there were a lot of tourists but they were riding in box cars. This year there are more of them and they are riding in Pullmans. (Applause)

That is one thing I am very happy about. People all over the country have got more wherewithal to travel and see their own country. I tell people back East that their principal duty is to come out West rather than go over across to Europe. (Applause)

It is fine to see you all. There are a number of very distinguished gentlemen up here on the platform. Here is my old friend, your Congressman, the Senator and the Governor. (Applause)

And may I also present - I think you have seen this person before, may I present to you Mrs. Roosevelt.

I also want to say, "How do you do" this way to Mayor Birdsell and the Reception Committee. They are in the crowd somewhere but cannot get up to the train.

(The President said good bye to Huston Thompson.)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
PUEBLO, COLORADO

October 12, 1936, 3:50 P.M.

(There were about twelve thousand people in the audience.)

I am very glad to come back here after an absence of four years and I am glad to be introduced by my old friend, your Congressman. (Applause)

I go back a good many years, to 1920, in the campaign of that year when I spent most of the day and the evening in Pueblo and I remember that I spent a good part of the evening trying to beat Alva Adams at bowling at the "Y." But I think he was a better bowler than I was. (Laughter)

In going through this country I think that things certainly are a whole lot better than they were in 1932. (Applause) In this particular section of the state I know that you are interested in a lot of things that I am interested in, soil conservation, getting water on the land, irrigation and the prevention of floods. We have been trying to accomplish a great many of these things that were needed by people in

various communities of the Nation. Up in the Capitol of the State this morning I told the people of Denver that in carrying out these public works of various kinds we were trying to construct those things that were recommended by the localities themselves, by the Governor and the people back home so that, through this expenditure of money, we have done much to start prosperity back on its feet right at home. (Applause)

You will notice, if you travel as much as I do, that there are very few empty freight cars standing on the sidings of the railroads of the country. A great many old engines have been brought out of the roundhouses and reconditioned. More engines are being built, more steel is being used in all kinds of construction and you ought to know about the use of steel in Pueblo.

As a matter of fact, the whole thing ties in together. With the return of prosperity we are getting more tourists, we are getting more freight and things to haul on the railroad, we are getting better prices for our crops. I am looking forward to a continuation of that prosperity.

I hope to be able to come back here from Washington during the next four years and see it grow.

(Applause)

It is good to see you all and the next time I hope I can spend a little bit longer and perhaps Alva Adams will give me another chance to beat him bowling.

(The President then introduced Mrs. Roosevelt and said, "Good bye" as the train pulled out.)

17
INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
LA JUNTA, COLORADO
October 12, 1936, 5 P.M.

I am glad to come back to La Junta. I have been here many times before and it looks to me as if things are a little bit better than they were in this section four years ago, the last time I went through.

I don't have to talk to you about the Arkansas Valley. You know this end of it a lot better than I do but I can tell you that I have had a tremendous interest in all of the plans for the whole watershed of the Arkansas from away back in the Rockies to the point where it hits the Mississippi River. I described what we are doing this morning in Denver. We have a perfectly sound objective. We want to make every drop and every gallon of water that runs down the river serve some useful purpose to mankind on its way to the sea. That is what we are trying to do in developing these irrigation and flood control projects. In about an hour I am going to pass through the site of what will eventually be the Caddo Dam.
(Applause)

I am sorry to be a little bit late for the melon season. But I believe they found a few that were late comers and they are on board the train and we are going to have them for supper tonight.

I am also glad to come into a railroad town because you people know of the splendid progress that railroad transportation has made in the last year. We are picking up all the time and the reason that freight and passenger travel is picking up is because people on the whole have more money to spend. (Applause)

Four years ago there were some tourists but they were riding on the box cars and the roofs of trains. This year they are riding in Pullmans and there are more of them and there are going to be still more to come.

In connection with our railroad problem, you know we have been trying to link into the broad policy of working for social security and that is one reason why the Railroad Retirement Act, that splendid piece of legislation, was passed by the Congress. I feel very certain that that, together with the Social Security Act, is going to do an awful lot for the people of this

country in the years to come.

If we can keep this prosperity going the way it is picking up at the present time, we need not worry much about paying back the comparatively small sum of money we borrowed to get back in the past four years.

I hope very much to come back here from Washington before another four years are up. (Applause)

(Your stenographer was called away but was informed that the President had gone on to say that the delay in getting the train started was due to a telephone call. The President then told the audience how, with the help of modern inventions such as the telephone, he keeps in touch with national affairs.)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
SYRACUSE, KANSAS

October 12, 1936, 8:10 P.M.

(There were about two thousand people in the audience.)

My friends, I have been trying to persuade some of the Eastern people on this train that this is not Syracuse, New York. A good many of them I think had never been west of the Mississippi before, but I have been through here a good many times in my life. I am glad to come back.

I have been watching, of course, as you know, some of the difficult problems that you have had to face this past summer. I realize what the drought has done here through/and I want to tell you that I am very, very much interested in the work that the Federal Government is trying to do to alleviate drought conditions in the future so that they will not be as bad as they have been this past year. We had an enormous number of national problems and we are trying to tie them all into a rounded whole.

Things certainly are better. People who only raised five or ten bushels of wheat to the acre, at least

they got more than twenty-five or thirty cents a bushel, which was the price in 1932. (Applause)

With planning, because we have to look ahead as we all know whether it be with respect to farming or business or anything else, and with the help of the Federal Government I believe that the program we have been trying to work out for the agricultural part of the Nation is going to maintain prices. That is a long step and if, in addition to that, we can bring more water to the land, keeping the water table up, using land for its best purposes, then in the days to come farming is going to be a much more secure career for anybody to go into than it ever has been in our country.

One thing we are trying to do is to stabilize prices. After all, you are not the only people who have been farming. I have done it myself both in the North and the South. One of the things we have suffered from are prices that have varied in the last ten or fifteen years, running up and down the scale as much as four or five hundred per cent. I want to know, when I plant a crop, approximately what it is going to bring when I harvest it. That is one of the things we are working towards. We have

suffered in the past from extreme fluctuations of the prices of crops and when you have these fluctuations there is just one group which benefits, the speculators. We want the growers of crops to make the profits and not the speculators. (Applause)

I am glad to get into Kansas. I wish the train were not pulling out because I would like to say a lot more to you.

Good-night. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
GARDEN CITY, KANSAS
October 12, 1936, 8:25 P.M.

My friends, I am glad that we are able to stop for a while but I wish it were daylight. I am not going to make a campaign speech at this hour of the night but some day I hope to get in through this section by daylight and see some of your problems at first hand. Of course I have read about them and read all the reports about the drought or about the subject of water conservation. All I can say is that your Government is extremely interested in the problem of water.

All the way down the Arkansas River, I have been confirmed in what I made up my mind to about four years ago and that was that in the water sheds out here in the West we have got to aim ultimately at using every single drop and gallon of water that comes out of the Heavens, either out in the Rockies or here in the Plains, use it usefully all the way down through all the states between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi River. As a matter of fact, we have not only the problem of soil conservation but we have the problem of floods. As you know,

I am a great believer in trying to think ahead. If we had thought ahead twenty-five or fifty years ago we would be a good deal further along than we are today.

Our problems cannot be solved in the course of five years or ten years but we have learned a great deal about scientific law. When I was a small boy, people did not know nearly as much about the dangers of flying in the face of Nature, as we do today. That is why I am convinced that with the cooperation of the Federal Government and the State Government and the Local Government, by taking the advice, in large parts, of people who live on the land itself, in the course of the next generation we are going to make this whole country out through here a much safer place to live in. In other words, we are aiming at security, security not just for one year or two years but with the objective of making farming and cattle raising a career, something in which a man and his wife and family can be secure. It is all part and parcel of what we are trying to do to make old age secure in the United States. We do not pretend to be infallible but at least we are trying.

Well, we are pulling out. Good-night. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN

DODGE CITY, KANSAS

October 12, 1936, 9.15 P.M.

(There were about 30,000 people in the audience.)

My friends, I am glad to come into Kansas. (Applause)

I have been through here many, many times before and I wish that this time I could have been in this part of the State by daylight because I have wanted to see conditions with my own eyes.

I know some of the problems that you have had, especially in this drought year. I am not going to talk to you about your own local affairs or about your State affairs because you know more about them than I do.

But I do want to say a few words about what we have been trying to do all through this drought area during the past few months and what we are trying to do this Winter and next Spring.

The thing we are up against is almost nation-wide. By that I mean that while the drought area does not cover the whole nation, the effects of the drought affect people in the East and all the way out on the Pacific Coast. That is well borne out by the other side of the picture, the fact that during these past three years we have come

into a growing prosperity. I was saying this morning that three years ago, when I came through, there were a lot of tourists going through the West, but they were going through the West on box-cars and on the tops of trains. Now there are more tourists but they are going through in Pullmans. (Applause)

In other words, the purchasing power of the Nation is being restored and, while I recognize the fact that you had a mighty short wheat crop, it is just as well that wheat was bringing a dollar a bushel or more and not 30 cents. (Applause)

And I could go on. The fact of an increasing purchasing power means that the merchants in all of these towns are selling more goods. When they are selling more goods it means that the people in the industrial areas have more work and if they have more work, they can eat more beef and more wheat. That is what makes it a rounded picture. I think we are coming to recognize that all over the country.

And the cost of it -- yes, there has been a cost in keeping people from starvation, in keeping people from losing their farms and their homes, but it is not only money well spent but it is money coming back a thousand times over. All we have to do is to bring some of these figures with nine or twelve zeros after them down to a point where you and I can understand them. I will put it to you this way: I will put it in the form of a question: If somebody came

to you and said, "If you will borrow \$800 and by borrowing that \$800 increase your annual income by \$2200," would you borrow it or not?

(Audience: "Yes.")

Well, that is a pretty good illustration of what has happened in the past three years. The Federal Government has gone into debt a net amount of eight billion dollars, but the national income in those three years has increased over twenty-two billion dollars every year. (Applause)

I am fairly confident that if we keep things going the way they are and tackle the problems like the drought with the understanding that you people are out here and your children are going to be here and that you are going to keep on being farmers in this section, that you are going to keep on raising cattle, I am quite certain that when I come back here again during the next four years I will find things better than they are today. (Applause)

Incidentally, let me remind you out here in western Kansas that I am making the same kind of a talk out here that I am making back East. (Applause)

I wish I could visit with you a little longer. This is, as you know, a very informal talk.

I am going to ask you to excuse me for a very simple reason. I have a sort of double duty to perform at this particular time. I am a candidate for re-election (applause) and this is, I suppose, a political trip. Nevertheless,

almost every station that we come to, we are getting either documents or papers to be signed or telegrams on which we have to take action, telegrams and papers that are sent to us from the national Capital for us to work on. Only this afternoon we have had a great many things sent to us to decide on and I have to remember the fact that I am still President of the United States. (Applause)

So, my friends, I am going to ask you to excuse me because I simply have to go back to work on mail and telegrams if I am to get to bed before midnight.

I wish you all sorts of luck. Goodnight. (Applause)

(The President moved around to the side of the platform so that the people alongside the train could get a view of him. He said:)

Before I go in I want to introduce to you a neighbor and friend of yours, a man who understands agriculture throughout the United States, I think, better than any other man in the United States. That was why I made Henry Wallace of Iowa Secretary of Agriculture. Here he is. (Applause)

(Secretary Wallace then made a brief speech and was followed by Senator McGill, who introduced Mrs. Roosevelt, who said: "I think that Senator McGill should do the talking. There are times when women should talk and times when they should not. At campaign times, campaigning should be left to the men.")

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
WICHITA, KANSAS
October 13, 1936, 10:15 A.M.

Senator McGill, my friends of Kansas:

I am especially happy to come here at the time of this, your celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the admission of Kansas to the Union.

In my boyhood days, one of my earliest recollections was going about fifteen miles back into Dutchess County, trying to shoot a woodcock. The place I went through was known locally as Kansas and I often wondered why it was called Kansas. Long years later, in trying to find out the origin of the name, I ran across an old file of a local newspaper and found that in 1867 an enterprising railroad man had come into Dutchess County and had offered a free trip to Kansas for anybody who wanted to go there. That was one of the ways in which Kansas was settled, as you all know. Back there in Dutchess we feel that before a great many families, I think three or four dozen, came out here in those early days, that we have a special link with this State. That is another reason why I am very glad to be here on this

beautiful morning.

I come back here after four years to find that things have changed a good deal. (Applause) I have noticed in traveling on the railroad that there is a different type even of tourists. Four years ago there were a lot of tourists who were riding in box cars and on top of trains. Today they are riding in their own automobiles and in Pullmans. (Applause)

You know, on a day like this it seems a pity to have to mention an election. But we people have a habit once every four years of having a grand fight and getting it over with the day after election. November 3rd is exactly three weeks from today and I expect to survive those three weeks.

(The foregoing was extemporaneous.)

(If I ever) If later on I shall have to write another book I am going to have a chapter in it about bedtime stories -- political bedtime stories. It will be a very amusing chapter. I am going to fill it with whispering ghosts and stalking bogey men, and I am going to end the chapter by telling how the American men and

women on the third of November, 1936, refused to be frightened by fairy tales. (Applause) You (folks) people do not look (a bit scared to me) to me the least bit frightened.

(The Republican leaders) And yet some people have (told you) been trying to tell you all kinds of things about what this Administration is trying to do. They have tried, I am sorry to say, to spread the gospel of fear not only in the factories, which is an old (shop) outworn trick; but this year they are even trying to (bring) spread fear into the homes and firesides of America.

(But) And yet I know that the people of this country have not such short memories. They remember only too well the real fear -- the justified fear -- felt all over the Nation in 1932, they know it too well to be frightened by this silly false fear which is now being preached. The leaders who are trying to do it, incidentally, (are) happen to be the very ones whose blindness to facts and refusal to act caused the real fear and the real danger (of national disaster) in 1932.

What (this Administration has done) we have been

trying to do since 1933 to clear up the debris which (had been) was left over (by twelve years of neglect) need not be repeated, you all know it. You know what the "devil-take-the hindmost" policy of the nineteen twenties brought down upon our heads. You know that the vast speculative gains of a few people were made without any regard to the deep injuries which they were causing to the great masses of our people.

In the spring of 1933, these same speculators (pleaded with) came to me for help -- help of any kind -- just so long as it would save them from bankruptcy. Most people thought that they had learned their lesson. We hoped that they would join with our average citizens in working for some kind of security against a recurrence of those panic years.

Yet here they are -- three years later -- giving, to be sure, a (vague) lip service to that word "security" and, at the same time, seeking to block, to thwart, and to annul every measure that we have taken to restrain the kind of individualism which hurts the community itself, in other words, individualism run amuck.

I use this word "security" not in the narrower

sense of old age pensions and of unemployment insurance -- fine as these objectives are. I use it in the broader sense -- confidence on the part of men and women, willing to carry on normal work, and willing to think of their neighbors as well as themselves, that they will not have to worry about losing their homes; about not having enough to eat, about becoming objects of charity. And to that one more objective -- that all Americans may have full opportunity for education, for reasonable leisure and recreation, for the right to carry on representative government and for freedom to worship God in their own way. (Applause)

That philosophy has been the philosophy and the practical objective of your national Administration at Washington. I do not seek to discuss with you the pros and cons of your local government, or of your State government in Kansas. You know more about that than I do. Let me say only, and in very simple terms, that I do not believe that Kansas or any other state would have pulled through the difficult problems of the past four years as splendidly as it has, had it not been for Federal cooperation and Federal assistance in many fields of your endeavor. (Applause)

(If you think we were wrong to give this assistance, then, to be logical, you must ask that in the days to come every State in the Union shall set itself up as an individual entity for the solution of all of the problems of all of its inhabitants, save possibly the maintenance of the Army, the Navy and the handling of our foreign affairs.)

Our broader interpretation of security and of the methods of procuring it is well illustrated by what you have seen us do. Our endeavors have fallen into three broad classifications.

First, we have to take care of the problem of immediate and direct assistance -- including work for the unemployed; help for drought areas; buying of drought-stricken cattle; building of ponds and irrigation projects; seed loans; assistance to the youth of the Nation, and dozens of other instances of that kind.

Secondly, protection against recognized abuses of many kinds -- including the battle of the Federal Government against kidnapping, blackmail, bank robberies and other menaces to life and liberty; safeguarding (innocent) investors against fake securities; the regulation of stock exchanges; regulation of over-reaching

practices of some utility companies and the establishment of power-yard-sticks to force reasonable electric rates; elimination of unsafe banking practices. (Applause)

And (thirdly) third, the reduction of interest rates; the saving of farms and homes from mortgage foreclosures; the insurance of bank deposits; the loans that have been made to keep railroads going; the assistance given to States, counties and (municipalities) cities, enabling them to build much needed, useful public works; old age pensions; unemployment insurance; assistance to rural schools; the CCC camps; farm-to-market roads; those and many more like them give you a broad picture of the more permanent and long range measures, many of which will improve not only your lives but those of your children as well. (Applause)

You know, there has been (at one time) a school of thought in this country that would have us believe that those vast numbers of average citizens who do not get to the top of the economic ladder do not deserve the security which Government alone can give them. And in the past, unfortunately, that philosophy has had too large a hand in making our national economic policies. That school of thought left Washington on March 4, 1933. (Applause)

The farmers of the Nation are a very good example of what Government can do, not only in direct help but in providing security for the future. From a state of collapse in 1932, agriculture has not only been brought back to life but has received the encouragement of Government which enables it to face the future with confidence.

I never want to see thirty cent wheat again.

(Applause)

Is there among (the many farmers in this audience, a single one) this great audience, one single farmer who would want to go back to the uncooperative formula -- the kind of rugged individualism, the economic freedom of 1932?

Don't you and your wife and your children look forward to a safer, better future today than you did three and a half short years ago? (Applause)

I have used farming as an illustration of greater security because Kansas is a great farming State. You know, however, that the mining areas, (and) the livestock areas and the industrial areas of the country are likewise receiving their share of a greater security. Every part of the nation is sharing it together.

Last April in the City of New York I dared to talk farming to a New York City audience. It was the brazenest thing I ever did in my life. I told them that one of the best things that had come out of these three years was the realization by city dwellers that they could not be prosperous until the farmer was also prosperous. In the same way I have dared to talk to people in great agricultural States about the needs of the industrial workers in the big cities, and how closely their welfare is tied up with the lot of the farmer.

People who are spreading the gospel of fear talk about setting one class against another. (class) They have intimated that farmers belong to one class and industrial workers to another class, and business to still another class. I deny this. They all belong to the same class for the very simple reason that none of these occupations can survive without the survival of the others. (Applause)

The people who talk about these class distinctions are the very ones who are encouraging class antagonism. For they tell one story in the East and

another story in the West; (Applause) they tell one story in the city and another story on the farm. My friends, that is not my way and never will be my way. (Applause)

Taking it by and large, I think we are coming through a great national crisis with flying colors. (Applause) We have not lost our self-respect. We have not changed our form of government. We have a net national debt which though greater in dollars is actually less in proportion to the income of the Nation and in proportion to the wealth of the Nation than the national debt was on March 4, 1933. (Applause)

From the point of view of national income and national wealth, we are better able to bear our debt now than we were then. And, within a year or two, with income increasing and expenditures declining, we shall be able to balance the budget and start paying down on the debt. (Applause)

One word more: There is one final form of security on which I have not yet touched. In addition to security at home and in the home, we have sought for security from war with other Nations. (Applause) We have not been content merely to talk about peace.

We have done something about it. We are trying to break down (the) economic barriers, to soften the economic rivalries, to end the economic strife between nations; for these have been the causes and forerunners of war. We have taken the lead among the nations of the world in restoring economic peace which is so essential to military peace.

In the whole of the Western Hemisphere here, all the way from the North Pole to the South Pole we have preached and we have gained recognition of the doctrine of the good neighbor. (Applause) We have extended the right hand of fellowship. Many nations of the earth have taken that outstretched hand. We propose, of course, no interference with the affairs of other nations. We seek only by force of our own example to spread the gospel of peace (in) throughout the world. (Applause)

And so, my friends, I think we are gaining peace and security at home. I am confident that I have the support of the American people in seeking peace and security abroad. (Prolonged Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
FLORENCE, KANSAS
October 13, 1936

(About 2,000 people.)

My friends, I am very glad to come here and I wish I can stay here longer.

You know, it is a perfect shame to have to do campaigning on a day like this.

I have been out here, through these parts, many times before, as you know, and there is one thing makes me very happy: Every State I have been in, and that includes not only the agricultural States but the industrial States as well, things seem to be coming back. People, on the whole, are a lot better off than they were four years ago. (Applause)

There isn't any panacea of either mind or medicine that the Nation can't take that will cure it of all its ills overnight, but we in Washington have, as you know, been trying to build up a great many things all through the country that needed to be built up, realizing as I said in the City of New York that the industrial workers in the cities cannot be prosperous unless the farmers are prosperous too. You can see it on the railroads. The

old strings of empty cars on the sidings that we saw from 1929 to 1933, almost all of them are out at work, going up and down the line full of various kinds of products. (Applause) And, at the same time, we have tried to work for a greater security for the people.

When it comes down to one of our basic troubles in the past, I think it will be found in the fluctuation of prices. A couple of years ago I got a chart showing the prices of raw materials of all kinds, the prices that they brought between 1920 and 1933. That was for a period of about thirteen years and it was a zig-zag line that went up and down and up and down. The farmer, the miner, the producer of industrial goods could never know what he was going to get because of this fluctuating line. And so we have been trying to work out what might be called a more ordered economy, a more stable price level so that, to use a simple example, if you borrowed or loaned a thousand dollars this year, by 1940 when you paid the money back or got the money back you would get the same kind of a thousand dollars instead of, as we remember not so long ago, debts that had to be paid with three times as many bushels of wheat as when they were incurred. They were debts that were incurred when wheat was selling at a dollar a bushel and when the debts fell due wheat was selling at 33 cents and it took just three times as many bushels of wheat. Now, that just isn't right and so we are trying to work for a better balanced

economy. It is going to take a number of years but I think the people of this country want stability in their economy, stability in their security, so that they will know from day to day, from year to year, that the future is not going to leave them without homes, without farms and as mere subjects of charity.

It is a big task that we have before us. I do not pretend to be the final, last word, but I do think that in these past four years we have been getting somewhere and I hope we will continue to get somewhere farther in the next four years. (Applause)

I want to thank the CCC boys for these perfectly lovely roses that were given to Mrs. Roosevelt. (Cheers for Mrs. Roosevelt)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
EMPORIA, KANSAS

October 13, 1936, 1.34 P.M.

(There were about 4,000 in the audience.)

My friends, I am very glad to come to Emporia. I don't see Bill White. (Laughter, applause)

I wish he were here because I have known him for a great many years and he is a very old friend of mine. He is a very good friend of mine for three and a half years out of every four years.

(Somebody in the audience said that Mr. White was in the audience and coming up. The President said, "Where is he?" Mr. White then came toward the rear platform.)

Hello, Bill, glad to see you. Come on over here. How are you?

Now that I see him, I won't say anything about the other six months. (Laughter, applause)

You get so much politics in Emporia both ways that you do not need any political speech, but I do want to say this: I have been tremendously impressed all through this summer and autumn with the tremendous interest that is being taken by the voters of the United States in national problems. It

has been demonstrated in the last week or two by an increased registration, by increased enrollments and I am quite confident that we will have several million more voters go to the polls this election day. That is entirely as it should be. I believe also that the people, more and more, are making up their own minds. They are not believing everything that is said to them and I am quite certain that they are not believing everything they read.

(Audience: "Ho.")

In other words, they are winnowing out the chaff from the grain and it is a fine thing that the public in this country is taking such an interest in its own government.

Yes, the people are not being swayed this year by some of the things that have swayed them in the past because, taking it by and large, our economic problems are in far better shape than they were four years ago. (Applause) I think they are sounder than they have been for a great many years. (Applause).

Certainly, everything I have seen on this trip makes me know down in the bottom of my heart that the people appreciate that things are better and are sounder. We have a little more time than we had in those days to make up our minds about things. Thank the Lord, we are going into this election with a smile on our faces. (Applause)

The bitternesses that come up every four years in our

American system of government do not last and that is good too.

And so, my friends, I am very glad to have had the chance to stop here. I always wish on these trips that I could go through by motor instead of by train; that I could talk to more people; that I could see more of the problems of industry and agriculture at first-hand.

I think I must have been pre-ordained for the career of the commercial traveler because I like to travel so much and it is one of the great privileges of the Presidency that I have the opportunity to go around this country so that I may get a first-hand picture of conditions.

Some day I hope I will be able to come back to Emporia and spend a little more time with you and, when I get back, it may be in one of those three-and-a-half year periods when Bill White is with me. (Applause)

(The President then turned to Mr. White and said, "How are you, all right?" to which Mr. White replied, "Fine." There was a great deal of applause when the President shook hands with Mr. White.)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
OLATHE, KANSAS

October 13, 1936, 3.52 P.M.

(There were about 7,000 people in the audience)

I am glad to come here but I wish that I could spend a little bit more time than I am allowed on this trip. I am glad to come to the home town of former Governor Hodges. (Applause)

I have been tremendously interested in coming through Kansas today to see with my own eyes a lot of things I had been reading in reports back in Washington. I could not get here on the trip to the drought areas. You have had some pretty hard times in this State with your crops, but I take it that conditions here this year are not quite as bad as they were in the western part of the State.

I think you all realize that what we have been trying to do for agriculture in the past three years has been aimed at greater security for the men, women and children on the farms. I think we have got somewhere.

Somebody remarked that our agricultural policy was like that of the automobile makers -- a new model for every year. I accepted that simile, I think it is a pretty good one. We are making great progress each year in our national policy towards agriculture. Of course, it has to be a national

policy. It cannot be 48 different kinds of policies. And each year, in working toward the ultimate goal of security for agriculture, we not only have changed the laws but we plan to continue to change the laws. We are not changing the fundamental objectives but we are saying, just like the automobile manufacturer, that while the principle of the car is the same as it was twenty years ago, we have got past the Model T. (Applause)

While Model-T agriculture may have been all right ten years ago, we don't want it anymore. We have got beyond that. There is no question, also, that the objective which we have for a greater stability of prices for crops is something that the whole nation not only needs but, I think, wants. Certainly it is important for us not to go back to 9-cent corn and 30-cent wheat and 2-cent hogs. We believe, having put the price level back to a more reasonable figure, that we will be able to keep it there.

Yes, this year we are planning and why not? After all, that is one of the things that government is intended to do, to think not in terms of just this year and the next year but, for the good of the people, to think for many long years ahead.

When you build a schoolhouse, and I know you have built some new schoolhouses in Kansas, some of them with the help of the Federal Government, you are building it not just for the number of children who will attend school this year, but

you are thinking ten years and twenty years ahead. You know from experience that the improvements which go on in education have not stopped going on. You know that the improvements in every single thing we do have got to continue in the future just as they have in the past. That is the simplest way of expressing the philosophy that lies behind the kind of government we have been trying to give in the past four years.

One of the important factors in trying to work out a government program in these four years has been the fact that we tried to give to the communities themselves every assistance based on what they decided were their needs. Our whole farm program has been built up, through these years, with the cooperation of the farmers themselves. We are trying to get the best cross-section of expert opinion we can find. That has been the basis of what we have been trying to do, and I think in another four years we will be able to carry the country a good many steps farther toward a greater security and prosperity. (Applause)

Goodbye and good luck. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
IN FRONT OF WYANDOTTE COUNTY COURT HOUSE,
KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

October 13, 1936, 5.15 P.M.

(There was an audience of about 15,000 people.
The amplifying system broke down after the
President's first sentence so that only a few
hundred people actually heard what he said.)

I have had a wonderful day in this great State of yours.
I wish very much that I could stay longer.

Just before coming into Kansas City, Kansas, I was
given a large book containing pictures of all the things
which have been done in this city in the past two years.
It is an impressive showing of the usefulness of the projects
which have been constructed in this city with the assistance
of Federal funds. I have read of your great traffic way,
of that splendid new park of yours, of that terminal down
on the river where we are providing water transportation for
your wheat and other crops.

I am very, very happy to have been here with you today
and I hope to come back some time in the next four years.
(Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

October 13, 1936, 5.30 P.M.

Governor Park, Mr. Mayor, my friends of Missouri:

It is good to see once again smiling faces, and to hear happy cheers from young Americans. (Applause)

I have had a wonderful day getting to learn more about America.

I have just come through eastern Colorado and western Kansas -- parts of our national dust bowl and yet they are smiling through. I have seen lots of things which ought to be mended. On the physical side of things, I saw (where) deep holes in the ground and swirling clouds of dust that show the erosion which years of man's neglect has wrought in (the) our soil. And in (your own) our States (you) we have all seen other examples of waste in the physical resources of our country -- waste of water, waste of trees, waste of birds and other wild life.

But through the years of this depression that we have left behind us now, (applause) we have (had) seen destruction even more tragic than that -- waste in men and women, in human skill, character and life. Of all of the appalling waste of the days of false prosperity and recent disaster, human erosion has been the most (ominous) calamitous.
(Applause)

There was, unfortunately, for a long time in the high places of government in Washington a school of thought that human waste was the concern only of private charity and local communities. But we have learned a lot since those days. (Applause) We no longer believe that human beings hit by flood, drought, unemployment or any other national disaster (should) ought to be left to themselves with the sole help of such charity as may be locally available to them, (it may not be) because we know from sad experience that there may not be enough to go round. (Applause)

And so your Government since 1933, on the 4th of March, has begun to take stock of (the) human resources (of the Nation) and it is determined to preserve (them) human resources. (Applause)

As we take stock, we recognize that the most priceless of our human assets are the young men and women of America (applause) -- (the raw) they are the fine material out of which the United States (must) is going to shape its future.

Nature's deepest instinct is the concern in every parent's heart for the welfare of the children. It is a law of nature which equals even the instinct for the preservation of life itself. Indeed it is part of that law, for without the preservation of youth, the race itself would perish. And so, the highest duty of any government is to order public affairs so that opportunities for youth shall be made ever broader and ever firmer. (Applause)

We Americans have never lost our sense of this obligation. To a greater degree than any other peoples we have sought to give each rising generation a little better chance in life than the one that preceded it. The little red schoolhouse for the education of the young, and the church for the training of (his) their spiritual qualities, have always been the first structures to rise in every new settlement, as our ancestors pushed new frontiers through the wilderness. I believe that the school is the last expenditure upon which America should be willing to economize. (Prolonged applause)

Those of us who helped built up the fantastic jazz era of the nineteen-twenties, which crashed down over our heads, must feel a peculiarly deep sense of responsibility to our boys and girls who were sunk with us in the ruins.

I need not remind the young people of this country of the black future which lay ahead of them in those days. That was the era of the wanderers -- boys and girls who had grown tired of living on the vanishing savings of their parents, and who had set out on the highways in all directions to look for work which they could not find.

Those in school and those out of school could not look forward to a place in the community. The door of opportunity had been slammed in their faces.

Hanging around on street corners, roaming about the country in bands vainly looking for work -- there, my friends,

was the real danger which America faced.

When the history of the dark days out of which we are now coming is written, it will be said that the great marvel of this period was that those young people have come through, with a full faith in democracy and with a high resolve to preserve it at all costs. (Applause)

In those days cities couldn't help and counties couldn't help and States couldn't help because they had come about to the end of their resources. Even big business couldn't help. (Applause) The youth of America had (apparently) come pretty close to the end of the road.

That was the condition that confronted your Federal Government on March 4, 1933. And your (Federal) Government acted. (Applause)

Before it laid its hands to any other problem -- and there were many of them -- it set up the CCC camp to put an immediate end to that hopeless condition. (Applause) It cost money to do that, just as it cost our pioneer fathers and mothers money to build the schools in which we have all been trained.

We have done much in the way of a beginning to improve the things in America which have made for waste in human beings. On the farms and in the cities -- throughout the Nation -- we are starting to remove those glaring inequalities, those deep-rooted maladjustments which did so much to bring about disaster. (Applause)

The American people, the people as a whole, joined with us in 1933 to start (this) that job. A vast majority of the American people in 1936 are with us to see it through. (Prolonged applause) Yes, we have made (the) a start in these days, confident that you -- the youth of the country -- will carry it on, carry on to finish the job.

That is why we have a national youth program. That is why through our CCC camps and the National Youth Administration we are trying to keep young people at useful work or in useful education. In high schools and in colleges the Federal Government has lent a helping hand in keeping youth at the job of learning and, believe me, it is worthwhile. (Applause) Out in the woods, out in the open, the Federal Government has kept the self-respect and the health of hundreds of thousands of young people. And that is worthwhile too.

The (Federal) Government for many years has spent a good many millions of dollars -- well-spent dollars too -- to conserve our forests, (applause), the money spent to conserve our forests and our crops and our livestock. We believe in that kind of conservation. You all know how much we have done in that kind of conservation. But now we have begun to spend money on much more important conservation -- to save the energy, the ability and the spirit of youth. No money was ever better spent. (Applause)

Nothing has made me happier on this trip than seeing at first-hand that the youthful hitch-hiker has disappeared

from our highways and from the box cars and freight trains. (Applause) The youth of the land can once more look forward with confidence and courage just as we of the older generation did in our day.

No greater satisfaction can come to me than the realization that the youth of America understand what we have tried to do -- and approve. (Applause)

They know, yes and their parents know, that the price we have paid to save our country has been worthwhile. (Applause)

America has lost a good many things during the depression. Some of them needed to go, I am glad that they have gone. (Applause) We have lost, for example, that false sense of values that puts mere financial success above every other kind of achievement. (Applause) We have lost a little of our cocksureness, (laughter, applause) a little of the bumptiousness (laughter, applause) the kind of bumptiousness which the Pharisee had when he thanked God that he was not as other people. (Applause) We have lost something of that feeling that ours is an "every-man-for-himself" kind of society, in which the law of the jungle is law enough. (Applause)

But many things we have saved, things worth saving. We have saved our morale. We have preserved our belief in American institutions. In this world of ours where

some nations have taken perilous detours, we have faced our problems and have met them with a democracy. (Applause) And within that democracy we are determined to (solve them) keep on solving them.

But above all, my friends, we have saved (above all) our faith in the future -- a faith under which America has only begun to march.

In that march America will have to be led in the days to come by the youth of today. (Applause)

For us of an older generation it has been our job to clear the ground of what in too many places was a social and economic wilderness. That pioneering has only begun. It will be for you to continue it.

You will discover that in pushing forward this great program of social betterment and social security, you will be met by the same opposition, the same relentless resistance (which) that has faced (the frontiersmen of the early West.) similar movements in the past. You will find that your fight against selfishness and injustice, your fight against oppression, and, above all, against war, will take you into a man-sized struggle. (Applause)

I am telling you this not to discourage you but to stimulate you. Our fight -- (yours and mine) your fight and my fight -- is to keep our democracy safe by keeping it moving forward. (Applause) And in such a glorious fight it is an unhappy place to be on the side lines. To the young

people of America I say this: Join with us, ours is the real struggle to continue and preserve democracy in America. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
CARROLLTOWN, MISSOURI
October 13, 1936, 9:15 P.M.

(Governor Park introduced the President.)

My friends, I am very glad, after an absence of only a little over a month, to come back into Missouri as the guest of my old friend, the Governor, and of you good people.

There is one great advantage that this State occupies. In order to get to about twenty other States from the East, you have to go through Missouri. (Applause) And your geographical location is such that you get in this State a pretty good birds-eye view of people from the East and from the West and from the North and the South. That is one reason why Missouri is a good barometer of political conditions. At the present moment the barometer says, "fair and warmer."

(Audience: "Pretty hot.")

Somebody said, "pretty hot." (Applause)

We have had a perfectly grand day coming through another famous state, Kansas. And then this

evening, before supper, I attended what I think was the most amazing meeting that I have ever witnessed in my whole career. That new Auditorium in Kansas City is something that everybody in the United States ought to see. (Applause) And, as for the people in it, that is something that the people in this country ought to hear.

It has been a wonderful outpouring, a very wonderful reception that I have had all through today and let me tell you that I am very, very grateful for it. It leads me to believe that my conclusion is right that the people of this country today are taking a greater interest and a more intelligent interest in national affairs and the problems of the country than ever before in our history and that is a grand thing.

The registration figures in every part of the country show that there are going to be more votes cast three weeks from today than we have ever had before in the past and I am not the least bit afraid of the results as long as everybody gets out and votes. (Applause)

There is another thing that appeals to me both on this trip and in the other trips I have made all through this year, even on that trip when I went out to

look at the drought areas of the country, and that is that we have more security and a greater degree of prosperity and, incidentally, a sounder prosperity than we have had for a good many years.

I believe that if we can only keep on going, not stopping just where we are, that there are lots of things still to be done. There are any number of improvements still to be made and we don't want to turn the Government back to the point of view which will cause that progress to stop.

I am confident that we are going forward for four years to come. (Applause)

(The President introduced Mrs. Roosevelt, who said, "I have had to say a good many times on this trip that I leave campaigning to the gentleman who is campaigning and do not do any talking. Thank you very much for the lovely roses and for your welcome.") (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
SOLDIERS MEMORIAL, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
October 14, 1936, 9:55 A.M.

Governor Park, Mr. Mayor, my friends of
St. Louis:

You and I join here with the rest of the Nation in dedicating this site as a memorial to the valiant dead of the World War. Here will rise a fitting structure -- a symbol of devoted patriotism and unselfish service.

We in America do not build monuments to war. We do not build monuments to conquest. We build monuments to commemorate the spirit of sacrifice in war -- reminders of our desire for peace. (Applause)

The memory of those whom the war called to the beyond urges us to consecrate the best that is in us to the service of country in times of peace. We best honor the memory of those dead by striving for peace, that the terror of the days of war will be with us no more. In what we have done during (the last) these (three) few years to promote national recovery at home, to extend the hand of the good neighbor to the nations of the world, to break down the barriers to

commerce which divide nation from nation, we are promoting the course of peace throughout the world.

Here at home there is the call to service too.

Inequalities in our social order call for correction. A true patriotism urges us to build an even more substantial America where the good things of life may be shared by more of us -- where the social injustices will not be encouraged to flourish. (Applause) The many different occupations in our economic and social order can and must be tied more closely together for their mutual advantage and for the advantage of (America) the Nation.

It is significant that the site of this memorial to the veterans of the World War is also the site of the beginning of the old Oregon trail. Here those pioneers of old left to begin that long trek across (an unknown) the country. They faced the dangers ahead of them with stout heart and determined mind. They carried the civilization of their day to new outposts. They carried the spirit of America to a broader destiny.

We seek to follow their example along another trail. They turned not back. Let us not turn back in what we seek in these years (Applause) -- for our goal is

a sounder and more permanent well-being in America.

And so we honor (these) the men who died in the War and we will carry on.

May the beauty of the monument which (will rise) is rising on this site cast a beneficent light on the memories of our comrades; may its substantial structure typify the strength of their purpose, and may it inspire future generations with the desire to be of service to their fellows and their country.

All major wars have brought about major disturbances in (our) the social and economic machinery. The late war has been no exception. New problems arise to take the places of the old. We rejoice here that (these) these problems are being met and solved without impairing our faith, (and) our confidence in the people's ability to do it themselves by the peaceful processes of democratic representative government. (Applause)

No place could be more fitting to reaffirm that faith and confidence than a monument to those who have died in a gallant effort to save democracy for the world. No place could be more fitting to renew our resolve that that faith will guide us and direct these our efforts of today. May we keep the faith. (Prolonged Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS
October 14, 1936, 11:30 A.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor
Horner.)

I am glad to come back to East St. Louis.

I remember very well my trip here four years ago when I was very much saddened in those days by what I saw in this City. There was very little going on in the way of work of any kind. All I can tell you is that I am very, very grateful for all the things that have happened in these past four years because we are certainly coming back to sounder progress than we have ever had before. (Applause)

You know, I do not go along with the scientific people who tell you that we have to have tremendous waves of prosperity and depression. I believe that the human race today is capable of planning ahead so that we will have a better ordered economy. That is why it has been my thought through all these years that we ought to plan so that we won't have another depression like the last one. (Applause)

I have had a very wonderful trip so far and all I can tell you is that I believe there is more interest in public affairs than ever before in this country. If people will only think for themselves and vote according to their consciences, I am not worried about the prospects on November 3rd.

I am glad to be here, standing beside my old friend Governor Horner. (Applause) And I am glad you feel the same way about him that I do. (Applause)

It is good to be with you. I am not going to make any more of a speech because I think we are about twenty minutes late; we had such a difficult time getting out of St. Louis. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
ALTON, ILLINOIS
October 14, 1936, 12:50 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Horner.)

My friends, I am glad to come back to Illinois and glad to be here standing beside my old friend, Governor Horner.

I should say, looking at you people and seeing the number of children, that this is a real Roosevelt town. (Applause) And I like to think, because I think it is true, that the children these days have got more of a chance for the rest of their lives than they had in 1932. (Applause)

Things are picking up. They are undoubtedly better than they have been and they are undoubtedly going to keep on getting better during the next four years.

Mrs. Roosevelt wants me to thank you very much for these perfectly grand flowers that have come on the train. (Applause)

Good-bye. (Prolonged Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
October 14, 1936, 1:15 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor
Horner.)

My friends, it is always an inspiration
to come back to the home of Lincoln.

Here I am again, after an absence of only
about a month. I am glad to be here standing by the
side of my old friend, Governor Horner. (Applause)
And I am glad he has said a word about courage, but
the real courage I want to talk about is the courage
of the American people. After those years that we
went through, we can feel very proud of the way we
have come back with smiling faces and with the de-
termination never to go through that kind of a period
again.

There are so many things I would like to talk
about that I could keep on campaigning for a couple of
months. You are here in the heart of a great agricul-
tural community, a great agricultural State. I am telling
the people in the East as well as in the West that the

prosperity of the farmers of the Nation, makes for the prosperity of the industrial workers in the greater cities. The industrial workers cannot have prosperity unless the farmers do and, at the same time, I think we recognize that in these past three years we have gone a long ways towards reestablishing a parity, of reestablishing the purchasing power of the farmers, a purchasing power which started to slip in 1920 and kept on slipping right down to 1933.

We are determined that we will keep on going, working for a balanced economy. We want you people here in Illinois to be prosperous, but we want the people in the South to be prosperous too, also the people out on the Plains and on the Pacific Coast. After all, when you come down to it, down in the South where I have a farm myself -- incidentally, I don't make much money on it -- if they get a good price for their cotton it means that they can buy more corn and more hogs and more things produced up here. In the same way, if you have some money up here to spend you can buy more overalls made out of the cotton of the South. In other words, it is a rounded whole.

We don't want to accept this theory that some economists have that we have to have a fluctuation -- prosperity and then depression. We want to bring prosperity back and make it stay.

All through the country that I have been going through I find evidence of a real understanding of what your Government is trying to do. I find real evidence of their determination to keep on. That is why, on November 3rd, I am looking forward to receiving the news of the vote of the State of Illinois. (Applause)

(Governor Horner then introduced Mrs. Roosevelt to the audience.)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
PONTIAC, ILLINOIS
October 14, 1936, 3:31 P.M.

(Governor Horner introduced the President.
There were about three thousand people in the
audience.)

My friends, I am glad to come to Pontiac.
I have been through here before a good many years ago.
I came through here at a time when you had the finest
crop of corn that I have ever seen in the United States.

I have been having a wonderful trip, getting
to know this country better. One of the privileges of
being President and one of the duties is to get out and
begin to know the United States.

On this trip I have been tremendously im-
pressed with two things: first, the comparison between
conditions in 1932 and in 1936. (Applause) Secondly,
I have been impressed by the fact that more men and more
women are taking an intelligent interest in problems of
government, in social problems and economic problems,
than ever before in our history. I am very certain not
only that things are better but that people want them to
get better.

I have been amused by some of the stories going around. I call them, "ghost stories". I was telling a very large audience down in Bloomington that one of the stories going around is that I had limited the amount of money that would be loaned on farms to twenty-five dollars an acre. Of course that is another ghost, because I know farms in the United States. I have some farm land down in Georgia that I would not lend five dollars an acre on and, on the other hand, I know a lot of farms in the United States on which I would lend a hundred dollars an acre. Of course, it depends on the farm and where it is and a little bit on the fellow who is running the farm.

It is good to see you. I have had a wonderful trip and I hope very much to be able to come back to this territory in the next four years. I think I am going to. (Applause)

It is good to be back in Illinois, back campaigning with Governor Horner and with Hamilton Lewis. (Applause)

In less than three weeks - just think of that -

I am going to be sitting in my own home up on the Hudson River waiting for the returns and I am quite confident that when those returns come in from Illinois on the third of November that they are going to be extremely satisfactory and that I am going to sleep well that night. (Applause)

Here is Mrs. Roosevelt. Let me present her to you. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
BLOOMINGTON, ILLINOIS
October 14, 1936, 2:30 P.M.

(There were about thirty thousand people in the audience.)

My friends, I am glad to come to Bloomington and I am glad to be on this platform with my old friends, Senator Lewis and Governor Horner.

I think I am right in saying that you people live in a country which is the second in all the United States in the value of its agricultural production.

On this trip I have been finding some ghosts. When I was further out West, I found that people were going around telling about the ghosts of taxes and they were telling people that if I am reelected, in some perfectly weird, ghost-like manner, I was going to impose a tax, a Federal tax on every farm and home in the United States.

But, luckily, my friends, there are not many actual believers in ghosts these days and, today, when I came into Illinois I found that a new ghost has been raised up before your faces. I am not worried. It is a new one, though. And they say, in this State, that I propose that no loans shall be made

on any farm land for more than twenty-five dollars an acre.

Well, let us look at that picture for a minute. If I were lending money on farm land, the first question I would ask is, "How much can that land produce?" I own some farm land myself. Down in the State of Georgia I have got a lot of land that I would not lend five dollars an acre on. But, up on the Hudson River, I have got some pretty good land that I would lend a hundred dollars an acre on.

And so you see, that kind of a ghost in a political campaign always comes back on the fellow that raised it for the very simple reason that the people in this country have a lot more sense than some people give them credit for. (Applause)

During the last three years and a half I believe that one of the greatest gains made by the United States has been the fact that more men and women of voting age -- and I include in that statement some of them below voting age -- are taking a more intelligent interest in their Government than ever before in our history.

There are some people in the United States who would like to turn the conduct of Government over to a selected, self chosen few. I would rather leave it in the hands of what we call the democracy of the United States.

In the past three and a half years we have gone a long way and in the next four years we are going even further. That is why, my friends, on the night of November 3rd next I haven't got the least bit of worry about what the telephone and telegraph are going to carry to me as the message of the people of the State of Illinois. (Applause)

Mrs. Roosevelt wants me to thank you very much for these perfectly grand flowers and also for the box of candy.

Good-bye and good luck.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN
JOLIET, ILLINOIS
October 14, 1936

(There were about thirty thousand people in the audience.)

My friends, I am glad to be here and I am glad also to be going through the State with Governor Horner.

As I have traveled through a great many states I have been thinking of a simile: four years ago or, to be more accurate, on the fourth of March, 1933, the Government and the people of the United States, so far as their prosperity went, were a good deal like a freight train that had a broken axle and had gone off the track. Well, the first job was to put the freight train back on the track and we did it. The next job was to get it moving again and we did it. Today, all over the United States, people have got more buying power and people are living better than they were four years ago. (Applause) And I believe that that is going to continue for the next four years. (Applause)

We are coming to understand that the prosperity of the country is not just dependent on factories running, because the factory cannot run unless people buy the things that are made in them. We need prosperity among the farmers as well and if the farmers are prosperous, the industrial workers of the Nation will be prosperous. Then, too, we have tried to provide more security for the average family. We have tried to make your bank deposits safe and it is only about a week ago that we established a record for the first time in fifty-five years when we had gone through one full year without the failure of a single national bank in any part of the United States. (Applause)

I am having a mighty interesting trip and, so far as I am concerned, I am having such a good time that I wish this campaign could go on until December 3rd instead of November 3rd. But, my friends, two weeks from next Tuesday when I get reports from the State of Illinois, I feel confident that the State of Illinois is going to help to keep the present Government going for another four years. (Applause)

Mrs. Roosevelt wants me to thank you very much for

this very beautiful bunch of roses.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN
October 15, 1936, 10 A.M.

(Governor Murphy introduced the President.)

Mr. Mayor, Governor Murphy, my friends:

I am very glad to come to Grand Rapids. I have always had a soft spot in my heart for Grand Rapids and this part of the State of Michigan because so many of the good people here are descended from the same old Holland stock that I am. (Applause)

Down in Washington, as you can well imagine, when we are making up the Budget, every department of the Government wants to have a little bit more money. When the President of the United States starts in to pare the Budget and cut it down, the favorite expression is that it is in my old Dutch blood to cut it down.

Last night, in Chicago, I was talking about the conditions as they were four years ago and the comparison between then and today. Grand Rapids is a very good example of what has happened in four years. One of the points I might make is that the return of prosperity didn't just happen. Something had to be done -- action had to be taken to bring prosperity back.

In Grand Rapids, you have an example of how we thought things through. The first thing in '33 was to stop the people from starving, to give relief, to give work, to lend money to municipalities to make needed repairs -- in other words, to stop the deflation from going on.

After we had done that, then came the next step, the taking of measures to enable people to improve their living conditions. As a result of many agencies, after we had saved the homes, we encouraged people to build homes and to repair homes. The Federal Housing Administration, in the last two years, has been responsible for the building or improvement of over five hundred million dollars worth of homes. Let it be made perfectly clear that this money was not Government money. It was all private money from private lending agencies and all the Government did was to insure a portion of the loan. And, incidentally, it was pretty good business, because the loans are being paid, for the simple reason that people have got work.

Then came a third step, and this is where Grand Rapids comes in. After the homes were built and modernized, they had to have something to put into them, and

Grand Rapids is furnishing the various elements that go into those new and modernized homes.

It is, of course, a matter of record that the furniture industry, just to take one example of many industries today, is working at a much higher peak than at any time since 1929.

I believe that the people of this country appreciate the fact that with intelligent interest on the part of their Federal Government, we have made very great strides in the last three and a half years to bring the country back to normal prosperity.

And so, my friends, I hope in the next four years I shall be able to come to Grand Rapids as President of the United States and see you again. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
LANSING, MICHIGAN (Rear Platform)
October 15, 1936, 12.50 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Murphy)

My friends:

Because I was not here four years ago, I cannot tell you that you are a better looking and happier looking crowd than you were then. But I think you are.

You, in the Capital City of the State, can appreciate what I am talking about when I speak about "rounded economy". That is because here, in the Capital, you have representatives from every part of the State, from the big industrial areas, from the farming areas, and from the forests. You have people here from this peninsular and from the northern peninsular and it has been my theme and my thought that no part of a state and no part of a Nation can be prosperous unless all the other parts are prosperous as well. That is why during the past three and a half years we have tried to take measures that would benefit not only the industrial worker but the farmer as well, and the miner and the man in the woods. We have been trying to restore purchasing power to the American people.

After all, industry cannot sell its goods unless the people out on the farms can buy the goods, and people in the cities cannot buy products of the farm unless the wheels turn round.

And so, my friends, after this trip through the country, I am convinced of one thing, and that is that the people in the United States, everywhere, are taking a more intelligent interest in government than ever before.

I am very glad to be here on the platform with my old friend, Frank Murphy, and my old friend, Prentiss Brown, and I hope that I will be associated with one of them down in Washington and that I will be able to come up here to Lansing to visit the other in the next few years. (Applause)

Goodbye. Good luck. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
PONTIAC, MICHIGAN (Rear Platform of Train)
October 15, 1936, 5.10 P.M.

My friends:

I have had a wonderful day in Michigan, and, in the words of the song, I am glad that the music is going round and round again.

Things are certainly a lot better than when I was through this State in 1932.

I am glad to be here on the platform with a great Governor of the Philippines, Frank Murphy, and also my old friend, Prentiss Brown. I need them both in the next four years.

I am not going to make a political speech to you good people. You have been having so much politics in the last few weeks that you must be sick of it, but I do want to say this: I am very firmly convinced that this year, in fact in the last two or three years, we have made a greater gain all over the United States in interest in all government and in an examination into the great problems of the country than at almost any other time in all of our history. We are beginning to

think, not just of the dollars that may come in in this week's pay envelope. We are thinking about the future security of ourselves and our families and our children.

That is why, in this period of three years and a half, your Government has been considering not merely bringing back prosperity, your Government has been thinking also about keeping prosperity in the days to come.

I am going away from the State of Michigan some time in the middle of the night tonight with a very happy feeling because I think that on the night of November 3rd I am going to get a telegram from Michigan saying that all is well in this State.

(Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
HAMTRAMCK STADIUM, DETROIT, MICHIGAN
October 15, 1936, 7.40 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Murphy)

My friends:

I am glad for many reasons to be with you tonight at this great gathering. I am happy to be here by the side of my old friends, Senator Couzens, Governor Murphy and Prentiss Brown and many others, and I am glad, also, to come to this dedication of one of the projects in which the Federal Government has been able to help your city.

As I came down those streets tonight, lined by thousands of men, women and children, I was thinking mostly about the children. I was thinking mostly about the days to come when they would be the citizens of the United States and take our places in the conduct of the affairs of the State and of the Nation. During these past three and a half years we have tried to do much to save the United States for these children.

We have tried to keep people from starving; we have tried to save the homes of the Nation; we have tried to restore employment to the people of the Nation. My

friends, I think that in three years we have come a long ways.

But it has been not only the emergency that we have had to cope with. We have been thinking about some of the things that the country needs in addition to food and lodging and that is why a great stadium of this kind appeals to me as one of the things that will last for many years and contribute towards enjoyment and recreation not only for us older people but for the younger generation as well.

Yes, I am thinking of a future America, where we may all have a little bit more of the better things of life than we have today, a little bit more in the way of money compensation for our work with a little bit more in the way of holidays, shorter hours and Saturdays off and Sundays off as well. (Applause)

Some people in this country have called it "boondoggling" for us to build stadiums and parks and forests and improve the recreational facilities of the Nation, but, my friends, if that can be called boondoggling, then I am for boondoggling and so are you. (Applause)

That is why I am looking forward in the next few years for a continuation of the policy that will work for the good of the average citizen in the United States and will not forget the forgotten man.

It has been a privilege to be with you tonight, and I hope that some time in the next four years I will be able to leave Washington and visit with you again. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

October 15, 1936, 8.30 P.M.

Governor Murphy, Senator Couzens, my friends:

I am glad to come back to Detroit after four years.

I am standing at the spot in front of the City Hall to which during the four terrible years, from 1929 to 1933, thousands of unemployed men and women of Detroit came to present problems of human existence to (a) your great Mayor, Frank Murphy.

I am glad that he is standing beside me today. His splendid record, first as Governor General of the (Philippines) Philippine Islands and later as High Commissioner of the United States to the Commonwealth of the Philippines, stands out as one of the most successful administrations in all our history. The whole country is proud of Frank Murphy and proud of (what he has done) our next Governor.

And, because he is a very old friend of mine, I knew something of the problems of Detroit in (the) those depression years, not only from (Frank Murphy) him, but also from my brother-in-law who was his City Controller.

We all knew that during those years the Government of this city pared its operating expenses to the bone, using every penny it could scrape together for the relief of thousands of starving men and women, people who were literally

on the verge of starvation. When money had to be raised, the Mayor and Controller (would go to private bankers in New York where) used to go down to New York to see the private bankers and they were compelled to pay very high interest rates for further loans.

By the spring of 1933 the city of Detroit could borrow no more from private sources and the government of the State of Michigan was unable to render any substantial help.

I am telling you this story and reciting (I recite) these facts because while the problem of human relief in Detroit was one of the most difficult in the Nation, yet there were thousands of other municipalities that were faced with the same kind of crisis.

There they were on the fourth of March, 1933. And what was called for?

Action -- immediate action -- action by the new Federal Government in Washington, and it is now admitted by all but the most blind partisans, that that was what saved the day. (Applause) And, my friends, it was the only thing left which could save (the) that day.

Relief and work relief through the use of Federal funds saved American humanity, and as the months went by it saved also the solvency of cities and states in every part of the Nation.

(Following the arresting of) After we had stopped the immediate crisis, our next step was to restore the purchasing

power of the people themselves. I need not (recite to) tell you of the many steps we took. (You are as familiar with them as I am) You know them as well as I do. And in great part you are glad today, I am sure, that we took these steps. (Applause)

(In the restoration of) The problem involved building up the purchasing power of every kind. In restoring it there is one element often overlooked by those who dwell in great industrial cities and that is the building up of the prices which farmers obtain for their farm products.

Let me give you a simple example: A South compelled to sell its cotton for five cents a pound, a Middle West compelled to sell its corn for ten or fifteen cents a bushel, or its hogs for two or three cents a pound, or its wheat for thirty cents a bushel, they could buy no automobiles (made) in Detroit. But a South with ten or twelve-cent cotton, a Middle West with seventy-five cent corn, seven-cent hogs, (and) dollar wheat, that South and that West can start and (has) have started buying passenger cars and trucks and tractors. (Applause)

In all other fields of production prices and values also rose -- miners went back to work -- eastern seaboard factories opened their closed doors.

The dollars that we have spent in relief, in work relief, in CCC camps, in drought relief, in cattle and hog buying and processing, each one of (them) those dollars went to work.

They were spent in the shops of the city (and) they were spent in the stores of the small towns and villages. They were spent again by the retailers who bought from wholesalers. They were spent again by wholesalers who bought from manufacturers and processors. They were spent again in wages to those who worked and in purchases from those who produced the raw materials back at the mines and on the farms. And once again they were spent in the stores of the cities and the shops of the small towns and villages. And, my friends, you know how many of these dollars have finally come to the City of Detroit in the purchase of automobiles alone. (Applause)

I am reminded of a song. Literally the music went round and round and round (applause) and a lot of it came out right here in Detroit. (Applause)

All I need to repeat is the statement known to most of you here -- that the year 1936 promises to be the second largest year of automobile production in our history -- (more than) three and a half times (as big as) the value it was in 1932.

Yes, Detroit (today) is a very different city from what it was three years ago, and while the wheels of industry turn fast and while unemployment is very greatly decreased, yet there are many problems not yet solved. I do not accept the conclusion of many Republican leaders that major depressions are inevitable in modern life. It is not enough

that we have ended the days in 1932 when workers in this city received for their labor as low as five or six dollars for two weeks' work. (Applause) It is not enough that we have saved many homes and put thousands (of people) to work. I believe that it is the duty of government to bend every effort to prevent another major catastrophe such as that which hit this country as a result of the Republican leadership which ran the Government from 1921 to 1933. (Applause)

Yes, there are a thousand and one things still to be done. It has been suggested that the Government's agricultural program is a "hit or miss" affair not worthy of support because, like an automobile, a new model of it is brought out every year. I have been glad to accept that (simile) comparison. I have told the farmers of this country that farming and farm policies, like automobile making, ought to improve each and every year -- that Model-T farming may have been all right ten years ago but that we don't want Model-T farming or Model-T anything else in the year 1936. (Applause)

I have suggested that the automobile industry and every other industry still need great improvements in their relationship to their employees. (Applause) And I (will illustrate the point by a story) want to tell you a little story from my own personal experience: In the spring of 1934 there came to Washington representatives of the

automobile workers -- most of them young men without much experience in organized labor. One of them who came to the Executive Office was a former marine who had served through battle after battle in France. He told me he was a machinist, (and) that his pay was \$1.25 an hour or \$10.00 a day. And I told (him) my marine friend that I thought that was a pretty good wage (scale and). His reply was this, "Yes, Mr. President, it is a good hourly rate and a good daily rate but, Mr. President, last year I worked only sixty-eight days." In other words, the total income of himself, his wife and his children was \$680 for (a) one year. And on (this) that yearly (pay) total he had lost the home on which he had paid down hundreds of dollars. (He and his family were seeking to exist on \$680 a year.)

As a result of that meeting and of subsequent meetings with company officials, I stressed the need of spreading the work more evenly through the year and of working toward raising the yearly pay envelope of Detroit and other automobile cities from six or seven hundred a year to (over) a thousand or twelve hundred. (a year) Certain steps looking toward that end have been taken but they are not sufficient. It is my belief that the manufacturers of automobiles and the manufacturers of many other necessary commodities must, by planning, do far more than they have done to date to increase the yearly earnings of those who work for them.

Your Administration has that kind of objective in mind. It is my belief that the people of Detroit, like the people of the rest of the country, are going to ask on November third that the present type of Government continue (applause) rather than the type of Government which in its heart still believes in the policy of "laissez faire" and the kind of individualism which up to (only) three and a half years ago, frankly, put dollars (above) ahead of human rights.

So, my friends, when the smoke and when the dust of this political campaign clear (clears) away on the night of November third, history (will) is going to record that the outstanding issue of the campaign was this -- Shall the social, (and) shall the economic security and betterment of the masses of the American people be maintained and strengthened or not? (Applause, "Yes")

My friends, we are -- you and I are not afraid of that verdict. It is going to be yes. (I am not afraid of the verdict. It will be yes.) (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
CINCINNATI, OHIO
October 16, 1936

What is a little rain between friends? I am very glad to come to Cincinnati. I am very glad this morning to have seen some of the work which the Federal Government has been able to help with -- first that slum clearance and then the bridge and now this stadium.

I think all of you understand why the Federal Government has helped in work of this kind. In the first place, three years ago, as we all know, we had an unemployment situation which was so imperative to remedy that we simply had to put people to work. Then came the question of finding the best kind of work for them, and that was put up to the localities. The communities -- the cities and counties -- throughout the United States told us what they most needed. And so the great bulk of the money that has been spent to give people jobs has been usefully spent and spent at the request and upon the suggestion of the different states and municipalities of the Nation.

You know, I am sure, that this has aided very much in the national recovery which we have had during

the past three years. There is not a merchant, or manufacturer, or a professional man, or industrial worker, or wage earner in this whole city, I am sure, who does not say that things are better than they were.

And most of them know, too, that the recovery just didn't happen of its own accord. It had to have the active help of Government.

And so today, my friends, in going around the country, I see tremendous improvement on every side.

We are also attempting to give a greater security to the Nation in the days to come. We are thinking about our children, we are thinking about fathers and mothers, who do, of course, consider their own old age, we are thinking of greater permanency of jobs -- all of these are objectives which modern civilization delayed too long in taking up. But we have made a good start in taking them up.

By security, I do not mean just a living -- just having enough to eat and a place to sleep. I mean a living according to the American standard -- a standard which provides a decent diet, a decent education and a reasonable amount of leisure and recreation. That is why

projects like this stadium that serve the enjoyment of people -- just for sheer good time -- are just as worth while as building bridges and stopping floods.

That kind of security, as we see it, applies not only to people with respect to their own individual family lives, but ought to apply to their occupations and ought to apply to the businesses which employ them.

That is why we are trying to make it a rounded picture -- something that will affect not merely one part of the country but something that will affect every kind of occupation and business, not just a few kinds.

And so, my friends, I am inclined to think on November 3rd, which is not so very far off, we are going to have an issue presented to us: Shall we continue in the future, as we have been doing, trying to attain greater human security?

I am not in the least bit worried about the result.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
DAYTON, OHIO (Rear Platform of Special Train)
October 16, 1936, 1.40 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Davey)

My friends, it is good to come back to Dayton, but it is even better to be standing here beside my old friend and associate, James M. Cox. (Applause)

You know, I have many memories of Dayton. I remember that day in the 20's when Jim Cox and I paraded up the street, side by side, at the beginning of that campaign. And I go back even further, in the year 1913, when I was a very young Assistant Secretary of the Navy. A great flood came to Dayton and I got to know about Dayton then because we sent some of our Navy boys and some of our Navy boats out here to this Valley to help rescue the people who lived in the Valley.

In these later days there has been a big change that has come over this Valley. What you did to stop floods was really the beginning of that great program of conservation and flood control which we have been carrying on during the last few years. You might even say that this Conservancy District is the Godfather of the Tennessee Valley Authority. You have taught us great lessons.

Four years ago, when I came through here, it was a different looking Dayton from what it is today. You had been hard hit. Your building and loan associations and your banks were in a bad way -- and they were not the only ones in the United States that were in a bad way in 1932 -- but today, as I come here, I see the same kind of a smile on the faces of you good people that I have seen in every part of the Nation.

The reason behind it all, one of the principal reasons, is that we have striven for three and a half years to raise the purchasing power of the American people and we are succeeding in that objective. (Applause)

And so, my friends, -- I won't keep you longer -- I want to thank you for coming out here today. I hope that during the next four years I will be able to come here from the White House and see you again.

Goodbye; good luck. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
SPRINGFIELD, OHIO
October 16, 1936, 2.22 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Davey)

My friends, I am very grateful to you for coming out today. I am glad to come to Springfield again.

Those flowers you have presented are very delightful and they are going to make the car look like a garden, but I don't see a sunflower in the lot. (Laughter, applause)

I think that things, from the appearance of Springfield, are going a good deal better than they did in 1932. (Applause)

And, quite aside from having turned the corner in these last couple of years, there is one thing I am very, very happy about, and that is that there are more men and women all through the country that are taking an interest in the problems of Government than ever before. As I remarked in Detroit last night, Government ought to improve every year. We don't want to keep on using a Model T government.

That is why I am trusting to this great increase in popular interest in government to carry things through

on November third. When that night comes, some time on Tuesday night, the third of November, I am looking for a telegram from Ohio. I know it is going to be the kind I look for. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
(From the Rear Platform of his Special Train)
COLUMBUS, OHIO
October 16, 1936, 3.10 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Davey)

Governor Davey, I am glad to come to the State Capital of Ohio as your guest and to be here also on the platform with my old friend, Congressman Lanneck. You know, I am not a stranger in Columbus. Sixteen years ago I used to come here fairly often to consult with my running mate, Governor Cox. (Applause)

I am glad to be in this State to see with my own eyes the progress that has been made in the last four years. (Applause)

That progress extends not only to the restoration of prosperity in large part, but it extends also to the building of many needed public improvements in every part of the State. It is true that a portion thereof has been financed with the aid of Federal funds, but I am conscious of the fact, and I think you are too, that the projects themselves were the choice of the citizens of the State and the citizens of the various subdivisions, the counties and municipalities in which these projects were built.

I am especially happy in Ohio that so much has been done for the good of conservation. We think of conservation, perhaps, as flood control, as soil conservation, as reforestation, and many practical things of that kind. But some of us, who are fishermen and hunters, think of it also in terms of pure enjoyment. (Applause)

As a matter of fact, as you know, during the past three years your Government has spent more money in total number of dollars than any previous administration in the cause of conservation but, at the same time, that money has been spent primarily for the putting of people back to work. (Applause)

As I have gone through this country, I have been much heartened to find the tremendous interest of people in this election. They, men and women, are taking more interest in national problems than ever before in our history. The registration figures show it; they prove it in practically every part of America. And I am quite confident that the verdict on the third of November is going to be a true expression of what America thinks. It is going to be a real cross-section this time, without any excuses, no matter who wins or who loses.

And so, as I proceed East, I am going back home with a great confidence, and that is that on the evening of November third, two weeks from next Tuesday, I am going to get a telegram from Ohio telling me that all is well. (Applause)

I am glad to see that the grandstands are so well filled. (Referring to box cars on adjoining tracks, loaded with people.)

Mrs. Roosevelt says thanks ever so much for the flowers; she notices that they are not sunflowers. (Laughter and applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN

GALION, OHIO
October 16, 1936, 4.57 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Davey. There were approximately 10,000 people in the audience.)

My friends, I am glad to be here today, to come back through Galion. I have been here many times before. I am particularly glad to see, by the expression on your faces, that you are much more cheerful than you were in 1932.

You know, while I am a lawyer, theoretically, I am also a bit of a farmer. I farm in two places, one on the Hudson River and the other down in Georgia. That is why I know something about farm prices. One reason why I think you are more cheerful is because corn is selling at better than ten or fifteen cents a bushel and because hogs and cattle are selling at better than three or four cents a pound.

Of course, the improvement in agricultural prices was one of the vital parts of the plan that we started three years ago. And I am not making one kind of a speech to farm people and another to city people. Nor am I making one speech in the West and another one in the East. (Applause)

I believe that in the last few years the people of this country have begun to think in national terms. You, I know, understand that unless farm prices are good, the great farming population of this country cannot buy the things

that are made in the cities. That means that the railroads are not making money because there are no goods to be hauled and, in the same way, the people in the cities, unless they have work, cannot buy the produce of the farms in the country. In other words, we are all in the same boat, no matter what our occupation, no matter whether we live on the farm or in the city, no matter whether we live in the North or the South.

I know from personal experience that people in the cotton belt in this country cannot buy the foodstuffs produced in the North if they have to sell their cotton for four or five cents a pound. In the same way, you people cannot buy overalls made of southern cotton when you get ten or fifteen cents a bushel for your corn.

I have always been particularly interested in the fact that this part of Ohio has gone in for diversification in farming. The more, all through the country, that we can diversify our farming and not depend entirely on one crop, the better it will be for the Nation as a whole. You are setting a perfectly fine example for the farmers in the State of New York and the farmers out West and the farmers down South.

I am mighty glad to see you and I want to thank you in behalf of Mrs. Roosevelt for the flowers. They are perfectly beautiful and there has not been a sunflower come aboard the train yet. (Laughter, applause)

And so, my friends, on the third of November I am expecting a telegram from the State of Ohio saying that all is well. (Applause)

Goodbye. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS TRAIN
LAKE FRONT GROUNDS,
CLEVELAND, OHIO

October 16, 1936, 6.40 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Davey.
There were about 15,000 to 20,000 people in the
audience.)

I am glad, indeed, to come back to Cleveland.
Once more I am denied the privilege of seeing more of your
Exposition.

I have had a wonderful time here today, coming
across Ohio with your Governor and your Senators. Indeed,
it has been a very exciting and a very instructive trip all
through the last ten days. (I have had a very exciting and
a very instructive trip for the last ten days through a great
part of this country.)

It has been cheering after these hard years to see
on all sides smiling faces and happy crowds again. Four years
ago there were crowds too - but they had the anxious faces of
uncertainty and doubt, faces that were shadowed by trouble
and fear of the future. During the past week (the) hundreds
of thousands of men and women and children that I have seen
have cheerful faces and voices of courage and hope.

I am sure that you people in Cleveland and other
parts of Ohio need no proof that your factories, (your) and
shops, (your) and stores, (your) and farms, are all doing

bigger business, and that those who work in them are getting more and fatter pay envelopes. (Applause) If anyone needs recovery figures (here they are) for Ohio, listen to this: Compare the first half of 1936 with the first half of 1933. And what do you find? Employment in (all) industries (is) up (36%) nearly 40%. Payrolls in all industries are up (83%) 80%. Electric power production (is) up 44%. Farm income, (excluding benefit payments, is) up (53%) 50%. Department store sales (in the Cleveland Federal Reserve District are) up 44%. Retail furniture sales (in the same district are) up 86%. And, one of the finest things of all, building permits in 47 Ohio cities have increased by 367%. (Applause) (from seven and one-half million to thirty-five million dollars. Residential construction in the same cities has increased 74%, from about two million dollars to about eighteen and one-half million dollars.)

These figures show an increase in business for every group in Ohio. The fact that recovery has come to all of these groups is a refutation of the old theory which had guided the previous administration, (and) the old theory which I call the "trickle down" theory. In other words, that theory is (that) this: if you lent some money to the few financial interests at the top of the economic pyramid, it will trickle down and some of it will find its way into the pay envelopes of the workers, into the ledgers of the millions of independent business men throughout the nation, and into the pocketbooks

of the farmers. But the trouble with that theory was that there was always too little left to trickle down more than half way (down). (Applause)

(The theory of this Administration has been) Our theory for the last three and a-half years has been just the opposite. We have acted in the conviction that the way to bring about recovery was to tackle the problems of those who were at the bottom of the economic pyramid. (to increase earnings and income, and through them the purchasing power of everybody.) We knew that sales could not be made to people who had lost the power to buy.

And so we tackled the problem from the point of view of all groups. What is happening today shows the soundness of that program.

Particularly was that true of the wage earners of the nation. For the first time in many years the industrial workers and wage earners (of America) have had an administration in Washington which was determined to give them an opportunity for a fairer wage, and (for) a more decent standard of working hours. (Applause) We were determined to do this not only because that was simple justice, simple Americanism, but also because it was good business. And the business men of America (know) now know that it was good business. They know that a greater portion of their regained sales comes from the increasing purchasing power of those who work in the cities and on the farms.

Why the interest of every business man is bound to the interest of the (every) wage earner. Whether he is running a store on the corner or is a stockholder in a corporation, big or little, he is financially better off when wages and working conditions are good than when wages and working conditions are poor. (Surely) And certainly the panic proved that!

Remember that when men and women are idle, they are not in the market for the products of industry. When wages are low and the working week is long, their purchasing power is limited.

It is to the real advantage of every producer and every manufacturer and every merchant to cooperate in the improvement of working conditions, (for) because the best customer of American industry is the well-paid worker. (Applause) And, incidentally, the best guarantee of corporate dividends is a rising standard of living. (Applause)

If the workers in a particular industry are poorly paid they become poor customers of every other industry and (of) every other merchant. And the corporation directors and lawyers who use the money of their stockholders to persuade their stockholders that they ought to chastise the Administration that is trying to broaden home and foreign markets for their own (goods) good, (are) well, those people, to put it mildly, are a little foggy in their thinking processes.

In this era, when many families hold stock in many diversified industries, it does them no good to depress the condition of labor in any industry. They profit best when labor (is justly served) profits best.

I said in Chicago, and I repeat here that the business men of America, the investors in business enterprises, are going to show on November third that they have not been frightened or fooled by the expensive propaganda of those who would seek to spread the gospel of fear. (fear that this Administration is antagonistic to business.)

Read the record of what we have done for business and you will find the answer to that charge. (I repeat here that the record shows that no administration in the history of the United States has done so much to encourage the business of the nation.)

Back in the spring of 1933 the whole system of free enterprise and private profit was on the edge of ruin. It had been dragged there by the same leaders who are now trying to scare you. It was because of our determination to keep the American system that we succeeded in doing what we did at a time when the system was almost buried under the ruins.

Few of the public are being fooled this year.

(Applause)

Every now and then stockholders and bondholders in the United States are flooded with literature warning them against returning this Administration to office. They probably

will be appealed to again. That literature is being sent out from the center of the great financial district of New York. The money of the stockholders is being used to finance this literature. (This) The waste of stockholders' money is being perpetrated by the same group which had brought business as a whole to its knees during the dark days of the depression. We fight only against that kind of concentrated wealth and economic power which in the old days used to dictate not only (to) the business of the nation but used to dictate to government itself - that small minority of financial interests whose concern was not the welfare of the nation, not the welfare of business in America, but solely the extension of their own power. And so, my friends, it is the glory of America that the standard of living is higher here than in any country or at any other time in the history of the world. The underlying issue in every political crisis (of) in our history has been between those who, laying emphasis on human rights have sought to exercise the power of the government for the many and those, on the other hand, who have sought to exercise the (powers) power of government for the few. We are now coming to learn that the interests of the few were best served when the interests of the many (were) are best safeguarded.

And so, my friends, that is our fight now. It will be won now as it has always been won (in America) ever since the day on which the members of the Continental Congress

declared inalienable (the) our rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

And so, on the third of November, which I take it is two weeks from next Tuesday, I am expecting a telegram from Cleveland and from Ohio, and I am confident of what that telegram will say. (Applause)

Before we pull out, may I thank you all for staying here. We were very late getting in, but it was because of the very large crowds all the way from Cincinnati. I am grateful to you. (Applause)

Many thanks for the flowers. Mrs. Roosevelt and I have noticed that there is not a sunflower in them. (Laughter and applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE NEW ATHLETIC FIELD
NIAGARA FALLS, NEW YORK
October 17, 1936, 9.35 A.M.

(There were about 5000 people in the audience.)

I am very glad to come back to Niagara Falls after an absence, I think, of four years. Many things have happened in those four years and I believe, from what I saw on the streets a few minutes ago, that it is a happier Niagara Falls than it was then.

And it gave me a distinctly homelike feeling to come through Hyde Park. I take

I take great pleasure in coming to this dedication of this Stadium today. There are many reasons why we ought to be proud of what we have been doing. This Stadium, like many others in the country, represents a two-fold effort. The first is to give work to people who need work, and the other is to build for the future.

As you good people know, all of these projects on which the Federal Government is helping the local government have been conceived by the particular locality. The projects have been thought of in the first instance by the local government, by citizens' associations and

civic organizations. For that reason, the Federal Government has been very glad to go along with projects that the localities themselves have wanted.

I suppose that this particular Stadium might be called "boondoggling", but it is pretty good boondoggling. And, in creating these new monuments, for they are monuments, we are thinking not only about the very practical things like waterworks and sewage disposal and projects of that kind that every community needs, but we are also thinking about the kind of projects that will be useful to us and to our children in our recreational life. More and more, we are getting shorter working hours in this country and we have to do more things which will give people a chance to enjoy themselves when they are not working. (Applause)

With the advent of the automobile, we are building great parks in almost all of the states -- state parks of which you have a very good example here, and Federal parks. We are building improved highways, farm-to-market roads, and we are going in for reforestation. And we are also building things like this Stadium, places where we can come to watch baseball and football games. My one

regret is that you haven't a football game scheduled this morning. (Applause)

May I say, in closing, just one further thing to you people who live close to the Border. I believe that in these past two or three years the relations between the United States and our great neighbor, the Dominion of Canada, have come to a point of friendship and understanding which we have never had in bygone years. It is a splendid thing, and I am very happy that this undefended Border of ours has become internationally famous. People in other continents talk about this Border between us and Canada. They cite it as an example of what they wish they had between themselves and their neighbors. (Applause)

You, who live along the Border, are in large part responsible on both sides of the Border for this friendly feeling. We can thank you people here in Niagara Falls and I think I can even go so far as to thank our Canadian neighbors on the other side of the River for the splendid understanding between this country and Canada, for the example that you are giving to all the world in behalf of a better understanding and peace between nations. (Applause)

Thank you and goodbye. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BUFFALO, NEW YORK
October 17, 1936

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, Congressman Mead, my friends of Buffalo:

This occasion brings back memories, because it is not so very long ago that I took part in the laying of the cornerstone of this building over here on the left, the State Office Building.

And now I am proud to take part in the dedication of this very beautiful Federal Building on the right.

That building is a part of a very great program throughout the Nation. It was a program designed first and foremost to give work to the unemployed. It was what we Americans had decided was an American substitute for the dole.

All through the Nation there have been projects like these, most of them smaller, of course, but all designed with that primary objective.

But that was only the primary objective -- of course, there were others. A second purpose which was part of this program was to provide useful public works, each of which would serve a need in every community.

All the way from Coast to Coast you will find a series of projects devoted to recreation, or transportation, or sanitation, or government service -- all of which, incidentally, were initiated on the recommendation of the local communities themselves.

All of the money that the Government placed into these structures has already started the wheels of trade and commerce turning again in sections where they had been stagnant for so many years. The money which the workers received in the erection of this building and on all the other projects throughout the United States undoubtedly was a major factor in restoring purchasing power in the hands of the worker, the shopkeeper, the manufacturer and the farmer.

A structure like this is particularly economical, even so far as dollars go. This building will house the Federal Departments which cover Buffalo and the surrounding territory. We must remember that up to now in this case and similar cases the Government was obliged to pay rent for that space, owning nothing and at the end of the rental period having nothing. So it seemed just ordinary good business to build our own building and keep the rent in our own treasury, a policy that was adopted in this

State many years ago. The State Office Building in Albany, the State Office Building in New York City and now the State Office Building here in Buffalo are testimonials to the foresight and good business sense of the State of New York.

The amount of money which was placed in circulation by what went into this building and similar buildings is hard to estimate. Every dollar that was put in did its work many times over. When the worker spent the dollar in the local shop it resulted in a profit and when the retailer spent it with the wholesaler, it resulted in a profit. When the wholesaler spent it with the manufacturer it resulted in a profit. And when the manufacturer bought his raw materials from the farmer or other producer of raw materials, again there was a profit. And so each dollar as it started in the stream of trade and commerce made new business, new profits, new income, new work and new purchasing power in the community. If you multiply the dollars which went into this building by the thousands of projects all over the United States, you will see what we mean when we say that this great program of the United States served as the first shock troops in the battle against depression, starting anew the processes of business.

I have just returned to my native State from a trip which has taken me into many parts of the United States -- into areas devoted to agriculture, to mining, to cattle and sheep raising, to great manufacturing industries. And everywhere I went I saw the cheerful faces and happy voices which told me that we had come back a long way to a real prosperity.

I need not compare the Buffalo of today with the Buffalo as I saw it the last time I was here. You will recall, I am sure, those years that I had the privilege of being the Chief Executive of this State. Already in 1930 the problem of depression and unemployment had become severe. And you will recall that it was in 1931 that I, as Governor, called the Legislature of the State of New York into Special Session to provide relief for the distressed unemployed of the State. New York was the first State in the Union definitely to accept the responsibility of seeing to it that so far as the State's resources could prevent it, none of its citizens who wished to work should starve.

You will remember in those days, not so long ago, the depression had made it impossible for private agencies and local communities to carry the burden, and

so the duty fell upon the State, and New York State was the first to accept the responsibility of carrying on with the task. But again, as the years went on, it was found impossible not only for the great and rich states, like ours, but for every other state to carry the whole of the burden of the depression, and thereafter from the fourth of March, 1933, the Federal Government in Washington undertook to carry that part of the burden which the communities themselves and the states were unable to bear. And, my friends, so long as I am President of the United States, we will continue to carry out that responsibility.

Just one word in closing. I am always glad to get back to my State. I wish for the City of Buffalo and for those communities in the western end of our State every possible success. May we grow not only in material wealth but also in the good citizenship for which we all strive.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
ROCHESTER, N. Y.
October 17, 1936

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, you my old friends of
Rochester:

It was a very (nice) delightful thought on (the)
your part (of you good people of Rochester) to give me
this testimonial in this place. It is not only the spot
where I was nominated for the Governorship of this great
State in 1928, but it is also the spot where I attended
my first political convention (in 1910) twenty-six years
ago.

I remember that (meeting of twenty-six years
ago) particular convention in 1910 chiefly because of
the fact that the city of Rochester was so crowded that
twelve of us from the Hudson River (counties) Valley
had to sleep in one room, and ten of us fought all night
against the other two (who wanted) in order to keep the
single window (kept closed) open. Those in favor of
fresh air won the day. Perhaps there is a parable in
this, because I have been fighting ever since in behalf
of fresh air and fresh opportunity for the people of
this country.

Since the Rochester convention of 1928 (much has) many things have happened. That year we were in the midst of the great jazz era -- socially, politically (economically and financially) and every other way. We were even then a sick Nation though we had not yet begun to feel the pain (the headaches and the heartaches).

It was a lop-sided economy we were living in. The wealth of the Nation was being concentrated quickly and steadily into the hands of a few individuals who were not only running the major part of our commerce and industry, but were actually running (the processes of the National) Government itself. It is an unfortunate fact that they were interested in their own welfare instead of in the welfare of the great majority of the people who were engaged in business, industry and agriculture.

(The process of gobbling up more and more independent businesses by merger, by purchase or by reorganization was going on apace.)

It was not long after I became Governor that the skies fell, the crash came, and it is perhaps worth noting that when that happened your State Government

undertook many policies which were ultimately (the basis of the) to be recommended in national legislation in the past three and a half years. We in New York started the ball rolling.

From 1929 to the spring of 1933, your State Government had to fight the depression alone. Yet it is a fact that this State was the first to undertake in a major way the care of its needy unemployed. It was, I think, the first State to tie in the success of its farming population with the prosperity of its industrial population -- for it was in those years that we undertook to remove some submarginal land from cultivation, to extend our forestry and our parks, our farm-to-market roads, and our cooperation with the farm organizations and the farmers themselves.

In those years also we started the splendid system of relief for the aged; we worked for the development of water power and for the reduction of rates for electricity, and we greatly strengthened the laws for the protection of labor.

It is also true that in the same period, 1929 to 1933, and you might say down to this day, the opposition to social and economic legislation of this kind came from

the same sources in this State which have opposed, and are still opposing, the same type of forward-looking legislation and administration in the National Capital in Washington.

I am very happy (indeed) that during these past three and a half years the State of New York has continued and strengthened liberal government under the wise and conscientious leadership of our great Governor, Herbert H. Lehman. (Applause) His has been a task of great magnitude, but he has met each problem with successful action. He and I are happy today that the worst of the crisis is over. He and I are fighting today against the return of former conditions and former schools of thought.

So, my friends, thank you for this welcome.
Thank you for coming out in this rain. I am glad to
stand here without a hat in the rain because they tell
me it is good for thin hair.

I am happy to be back in my own home State.
(for) I am proud of (it) my home State. Deep down in my heart I am confident that Government which thinks in terms of humanity will continue in Albany and Washington in the days to come. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
UTICA, NEW YORK
October 17, 1936, 4.30 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Congressman Fred J. Sisson.)

My friends, I am glad to be back in Utica and Oneida County again. Most of you good people have seen me and I have seen you many times before.

I am glad to be standing here by the side of your Mayor and Bill Bray and Fred Sisson.

A little while ago, although it has been raining in Buffalo this morning and in Rochester a little later on, I was looking out of the side window of the car and I saw a rainbow. I think that is a mighty happy omen.

We have had a very wonderful trip through a great many states, and everywhere that we have gone there is one thing that is different from the year 1932, there are smiles on the faces of the men and women of America.

There is no question but that things are better in every part of the country and, as you know, we have tried to work these past three and a half years for a well rounded economy. It has not been just a question

of bringing one section of the country back or one state back at the expense of the others. We tried to bring back an economy, a prosperity, that would go all the way down the line so that we could have a wider distribution of wealth and, with that, a few more good things for the average citizen of the country.

And in addition, we have been thinking not merely in terms of greater prosperity for the moment, we have been trying to look ahead, trying to look ahead for the obtaining of a greater security for the men, and the women and children who are going to live in this country after us. That has been a very important objective that we have kept constantly before our eyes and I am convinced by personal observation that the people realize, more and more, especially in these past three and a half years, the importance of their taking an interest in government itself and the problems of government.

As you know, in 1929, when I first went to Albany as Governor, it was only a few months after that that this country was hit by the worst crash it had had in its history. We started, in those days in Albany, some of the things -- without any help from Washington --

some of the things that we have transferred to Washington since I have been there. We started old age pensions in this State. We took care of needy unemployed in this State. We began, for the first time, a farm program in this State with the help of the farmers and the farm leaders themselves.

We still have to go a long ways in all of these. In other words, we cannot keep just the same old Model T that we used to have ten years ago.

Since I have been down in Washington you have had in Albany a Government which has had to face great problems but, under the leadership of Governor Lehman and his Administration (applause) you have had the same kind of forward-looking liberal Government that is trying to take care of the great majority of people that we have been trying to give you in Washington.

And so, my friends, I am mighty glad to come back into my own home State. (Applause) It is a pretty fine State to live in. I wish I could be two different people, one in Washington and the other in the State of New York. (Applause)

I am quite confident from all that I have seen, from the great crowds that have come down, I am quite confident what the people of the State of New York are going to say about their two Governments in Albany and Washington on Tuesday, November third. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE PORCH OF THE EXECUTIVE MANSION
ALBANY, NEW YORK
October 17, 1936, 7.30 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Lehman. There were about 8000 people in the audience.)

Governor Lehman, Mayor Thatcher, and my old friends and neighbors: (Applause)

You know, I think I said on another occasion, four years ago, that I could not make a formal speech to you people, and I feel just that way now because it has been the best homecoming that I have ever had.

You know, Albany must mean something to a man and to his wife when they started living there when they were a very young married couple. In those early days, beginning in 1911, we occupied two houses, two different houses in Albany. I was what might be called a kid Senator. Later on, many years afterwards, after being in Washington for a while, we came back to this old house, and those four years that we spent here, those years were very happy years for all of our family.

We got to know all the people who lived across the street and on each of the side streets so that we

recognized them every time we went in and out of the Executive Mansion. We almost felt as if they had been brought up with us.

And now, after four years, there is nothing strange about coming back here to Albany because it is a place that has meant so much in the lives of Mrs. Roosevelt and myself, especially when, in the Executive Mansion, there are two people of whom we are very, very fond, Governor and Mrs. Lehman. (Applause)

I am inclined to think that Albany agrees with the rest of the State of New York that we cannot afford to have any change in the occupants of the Executive Mansion for the next two years. (Applause) And I quite frankly am looking forward in the next two years at least, perhaps four years, to coming up to Albany with my wife to spend the day and visit with Herbert Lehman and his wife.

We have had a very wonderful trip through the United States these past days. I seem to thrive on ten nights in a sleeping car. (Laughter) And it has been a great lesson, the greatest lesson that I know of, to compare the faces of the people today with the faces of the

people as they were four years ago. (Applause)

I think we have a happier America, I think we have a better America than we had then, and I believe also that, under the leadership of Governor Lehman, we have a much happier and a much better State of New York. (Applause)

And so, my friends, let me tell you how happy both Mrs. Roosevelt and myself are to come here tonight and to have this wonderful reception you have given us, this truly wonderful homecoming you have given us. It is delightful to come here as the guests of Governor and Mrs. Lehman and of my old friend, Mayor Thatcher. (Applause)

(The President was then photographed with Governor Lehman, the President remarking, "Of course, Herbert and I have never been photographed before, so we are going to try it." "I still have more hair than the Governor has.")

(The President then said, "Good night.")

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
DELIVERED FROM THE STEPS OF THE STATE CAPITOL,
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

October 21, 1936, 9.30 A.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Greene)

My friends, here I am back in Rhode Island and glad to be here. (Applause)

I am glad that Governor Greene spoke of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation as being the cradle of religious liberty.

(I am standing on the steps of the Capitol of a)
I remember also that this State was so independent that it did not ratify the Constitution of the United States until two years after it was in effect. And I remember also that Rhode Island is very much a part of the United States for
around me lies the most highly industrial and densely populated State in the Union. (country)

I could speak to no people who better understand the inter-dependence of modern economic life.

I have said that what the present National Administration has tried to do was to adjust statecraft to reality -- the reality of forty-eight States which have agreed to live together in a machine age.

When this Administration came to Washington on the fourth of March, 1933, the machine of our national economy had completely broken down. For twelve long years it had been neglected by those who believed that machines did not

need tending. We tried to rebuild that machine, to modernize it and to turn on the purchasing power.

It was the biggest peace-time job ever attempted. It called for energy in a hundred directions at once, it called for imagination (for) and willingness to face facts.

Because it was a modern machine it needed money in circulation to get it going and keep it going. (Applause) Therefore, we had to obtain purchasing power. (for the farmer, work for the unemployed, loans to industry, safety and courage for banks.)

How much did we spend? Enough to get results -- enough to be sure not to fail. There would have been no second chance if we had failed once.

You and I are used to venturing capital to gain profits. And in these three and a half years our venture has succeeded.

Prosperity measured in dollars is coming back. There (are) is none among you to deny it. But there is a higher measure for prosperity -- the measure of permanency -- the measure of security.

We seek not the prosperity of 1929 but the kind which will mean to every American family an assurance of safety of the home, safety of old age, safety of savings, safety of employment. (Applause)

You have been (told of) talked to about regimentation. I am opposed to the kind of regimentation under which

you have labored and suffered in the days of the false prosperity and in the days of the great depression.

We believe that people are even more important than machines. (Applause) We believe that the material resources of America should serve the human resources of America.

We will not again allow people to be regimented by selfish minorities into bankruptcies and breadlines. (Applause)

I wish that (on this visit) I might stay longer. But I know Rhode Island, its cities, its farms, its waters and its valleys. I carry to you the same message I have given in the West and in the South -- you are a vital and necessary part of a united whole. Your Federal Government seeks your well-being for your own sake and for the sake of your sister States. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT FALL RIVER, MASSACHUSETTS

October 21, 1936

My friends, this is a very wonderful welcome that you have given me at Fall River and in Massachusetts.

It is a real homecoming for I have been coming to Fall River for more than fifty years.

I was glad to hear about the better conditions in Fall River for I know very well that the depression started here long before 1929. I want you good people to remember that your National Government in Washington remembers that Fall River is on the map. I am grateful to all of you men and women for the courage that you showed through all those difficult years and I am confident that in the future that courage will be rewarded by better conditions -- better security for your homes and a better future for your children.

In coming here I have, of course, some very close memories of one of your fellow citizens -- my old friend and associate, Louis Howe, who was with me all those strenuous years, first in the Navy Department, then in Albany and, after that, in Washington. To him I owe a very deep debt of gratitude. To him you owe a deep debt of gratitude because it was his clear, sound, American thinking that has had much to do with the progress we have made in this Administration.

This is not a speech. It is just a little message of thanks to you whom I could, in a sense, call my neighbors -- for Fall River is the neighborhood that I have known all my life.

I am grateful to you and I am glad to have been here.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TAUNTON, MASSACHUSETTS
October 21, 1936, 2 P.M.

I am glad to come back to Taunton.

I am reminded that four years ago things were not as happy as they are today. I am hoping very much that in the next four years things are going to be even more prosperous and we are going to have an even greater security than we have today.

May I take this opportunity to thank the Ladies' Democratic Club for that very delightful bunch of roses which has just been given to Mrs. Roosevelt. I notice that among them there are no sunflowers. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
BROCKTON, MASSACHUSETTS
October 21, 1936, 3 P.M.

Mr. Mayor, my friends:

I am glad to come back to Brockton. It is a very grand suggestion that I should come back some time to a Brockton Fair. I have been to a Brockton Fair before and I will come again.

Thank you very much for this welcome. Mrs. Roosevelt and I are very grateful.

I know something about the problems you have been facing during these past six or seven years, and it is my earnest hope that the present prosperity is going to continue, not only in this City and this State, but in every part of the Union.

And so, my friends, thank you again for this welcome. I am coming back again some day to see you.
(Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
DELIVERED FROM HIS AUTOMOBILE
BOSTON COMMON, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
October 21, 1936, 4.30 P.M.

(There were about 80,000 people in the audience.)

Governor Curley, Mr. Mayor, my friends of Boston:

I want to thank you good people and the people of
Massachusetts and Rhode Island whom I have seen today for
this very wonderful welcome I have had.

I return to (the) New England -- the New England
from which came most of my ancestors. I come from visiting
many other States. Hardly one among them has not received
men and treasure, brawn and brains, from New England's in-
exhaustible reserves.

The average American as I have met him on these
voyages is no longer indifferent to the problems of gov-
ernment. And it is my opinion that there is more down-
right political intelligence than ever before in our en-
tire history.

In a world which in many places has gone undemo-
cratic, we have gone more democratic. It is a bad sign
for those who believe that the American people can be swept
off their feet by rabble rousers this year. The American
mind today is above the rabble level and so I tell you that

two weeks from today, the day after election, the American air will be cleaner and the American democracy (will) is going to be safer.

I want to speak to you briefly and simply about the prosperity of all the Nation, for in that prosperity all New England has an immediate and a direct interest. The golden State House dome up there on the hill symbolizes in itself the preservation of the political unity of the Nation. But New England is heir to the lasting fruits of another great New England tradition -- the tradition of being a part in the economic development of the (entire) Union, and of sharing in all of its prosperity.

In the most immediate sense, the problems of the great population of the West and South are your problems too. Their welfare and prosperity are your welfare and prosperity.

(The sale of New England's shoes depends in part on the price of Kansas' wheat and Georgia cotton. Prosperity for the California fruit grower depends in part on the prosperity of the New England textile mill. New England savings have prospered in developing Western mines and railroads and stockyards and farms.)

I have thought much of this interdependence of every section upon every other section as I have travelled through the great Western country.

And I am confident that level-headed New England knows how true that is -- knows it in spite of a cantankerous minority that in every difficult time has found spokesmen to try to persuade New England that its interest is not the interest of the rest of the (Union) Nation. They tell New England today as they have told it before that it has been ruined by (government) policies designed to benefit only the rest of the Union.

We all know that New England has had its troubles, and most of the other states too. But we all know that New England (is) and the other states are coming out of (its) their troubles.

(If you need figures to prove that, there they are for the State of Massachusetts: Payrolls for the first half of 1936 are up thirty-two per cent over the first half of 1933. Retail sales are up twenty per cent. Farm income, excluding benefit payments, is up thirty-seven and a half per cent. Building construction in sixty-two Massachusetts cities is

up one hundred per cent. Does that look to you like the end of private enterprise?)

(For many years under Republican Administrations New England was handicapped. What were the causes?)

(Every realistic business man of New England knows: First -- that New England had established standards of wages and of living which put some of its industries at a competitive disadvantage with sections of the country which had not reached those standards.)

(Second: That those lower standards were exploited by an absentee landlordism which exported from New England too much of its capital -- capital that was used elsewhere to compete with industries at home.)

(Third: Concentrated wealth and economic power gobbled up or wiped out or moved away hundreds of small independent New England businesses -- the kind of businesses with which at one time New England had conquered the markets of the world.)

(What did Republican leadership do to meet those difficulties? A high protective tariff alone could not help New England to meet unfair competition

from domestic competitors on the one hand, and the unfair competition of monopoly on the other. To make matters worse, that tariff shut off the foreign commerce on which the sea coast population and industrial population of New England had lived.)

The full fruit of (these) Republican policies of twelve years is found in the record of what happened to New England's industries under those policies. New England was engulfed by the depression five years before the rest of the country. That is New England's debt to the Republican leadership of (the boom) that era.

What has this Administration done?

Well, we have raised wages and living standards in other (sections) parts of the country, and we have raised them in New England too. (They are being brought up towards the standards of New England.) (That) The kind of unfair competition (is being destroyed) that we have suffered from in the past we have begun to destroy. (Most of us are in favor of that.)

We have begun the first real offensive in our history against that concentrated wealth and monopolistic power which almost destroyed the small businesses and diversified

industries of New England and the rest of the Nation. Most of us are in favor of that.

By reciprocal (trade) tariff agreements, we have begun to reopen foreign markets for New England (products and New England) shipping and trade. Most of us are in favor of that.

We have increased the purchasing power of New England's customers out on the farms and in the cities (of the Nation). And most of us are in favor of that.

New England has been traditionally (been) a land (of moderate-sized independent business, a land) of economic democracy. Its far-seeing statesmen always understood that democracy was impossible under the relentless pressures of concentration and monopoly wielded by the new power of high finance. (The New England) Our Puritan spirit of simplicity, the New England passion for democracy, the New England genius for democratic statescraft, are the very sources of that program of this Administration which set itself to end such concentration of wealth and economic power.

Daniel Webster spoke for all that was wisest in New England when he said at Plymouth Rock: "The freest government, if it could exist, would not be long acceptable,

if the tendency of the laws were to create a rapid accumulation of property in few hands, and to render the great mass of the population dependent and penniless. Universal suffrage could not long exist in a community where there was great inequality of property."

What have we done in (our) this fight against (monopolies) monopoly?

We have taxed the intercorporate dividends of holding companies. We have graduated taxes on corporations according to income as taxes on individuals were graduated long ago. We have made it harder for big corporations to retain the huge undistributed profits with which they gobble up small business. We have raised the surtaxes on big incomes and the estate taxes on big fortunes. We have regulated the financial markets through which mergers and consolidations and monopolies are created with other people's money.

In closing, let me read you what old (way back in 1776) John Adams wrote in 1776 to his friend Patrick Henry. He said this:

"The decree is gone forth, and it cannot be recalled, that a more equal liberty than has prevailed in other parts of the earth, must be established in America.

The exuberance of pride which has produced an insolent domination in a few, a very few, opulent monopolizing families, will be brought down nearer to the confines of reason and moderation, than they have been used to."

I am glad to travel in the company of John Adams and Daniel Webster. Boston and Massachusetts and New England have not lost the spirit that has made the Nation great.

Once more, I salute you. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM HIS AUTOMOBILE
WALTHAM, MASSACHUSETTS
October 21, 1936

(There were about 30,000 people in the audience. Dr. MacDonald, the Mayor, introduced the President. Miss Winifred Carrie Cotter, on behalf of the City, presented a watch to the President.)

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

I have been very much interested in hearing from the Mayor that I am the first President to come to Waltham in over a century, in fact since President Monroe was in the White House.

President Monroe was a Virginian who came to Waltham in those days for the first and only time in his life. But, because I have had the privilege of spending eight very happy years in Massachusetts, getting educated, I have been here lots of times before. And also, because I am in very large part of Massachusetts stock, I imagine I am going to come back here many times again.

I am deeply grateful, and I know Mrs. Roosevelt is too, for those delightful tokens, those two watches. I have an idea that a Waltham watch brings good luck. (Applause)

That is why, one week from next Tuesday, on the third of November, this watch is going to be in my pocket and it is going to bring us all very good luck. (Applause)

And I am grateful, too, for this scroll, because I can remember four years ago the formation of this original Roosevelt-for-President Club. I wish I could meet all the members of it individually and shake them by the hand.

So, my friends, let me tell you how grateful I am for this reception and to wish you all the good luck in the world. Good night. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM HIS AUTOMOBILE
MARLBORO, MASSACHUSETTS
October 21, 1936, 7.30 P.M.

Mr. Chairman, Governor Curley, my friends:

I am glad to come back to Marlboro. I have been here, as you know, many, many times before because I spent about four years at school not so many miles from here.

I am glad, also, to come back to the home town of old General Artemas Ward. We know something about him where I live, down on the Hudson River, because he helped us there against the forays of the Red Coats.

I have had a very wonderful day coming through this State, and I am glad to find that, taking it by and large, it is a much happier looking State than it was four years ago. I believe that during the coming four years it is going to be even more prosperous and happy than it is now.

So, my friends, let me thank you for this splendid welcome you have given me. I am going to come back to Marlboro in the days to come. Good night. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE AUDITORIUM
WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

October 21, 1936, 10.00 P. M.

Senator Walsh, Governor Curley, Mayor Sullivan and my friends
of New England:

It has taken only one day of driving through Rhode
Island and Massachusetts to prove to me that New England is
in step and on November third will be in step with the rest
of the Nation. (Applause)

(I am glad to be in New England -- New England from which have come most of my forebears. In recent weeks I have travelled through a great part of the United States. I have spoken about farming and mining and livestock, about business big and little, about the wage earner, about the national debt, about drought and flood, about work for the needy unemployed and security -- security for our people and for their homes.)

(I have found a Nation more greatly prosperous, more definitely on the highway to complete recovery than at any time in the past seven years. I have seen the record of what we have done in the faces of the people I have met. We have banished old man Gloom.)

(It has taken only one day of driving through Rhode Island and Massachusetts to prove to me that New England is in step and on march with the rest of the Nation.)

I have seen things today even more welcome to me than your lovely autumn foliage. I have seen the smoke from factories -- which three and a half years ago were smokeless. I have heard the sound of mills -- which three and a half years ago were silent. I have seen men at work who (three

and a half years ago) were jobless. I have seen women and children who -- after long years of fear -- have begun to live and hope again. (Applause)

Three and a half years ago we declared war on the depression. You and I know today that that war is being won. (Applause)

But now comes that familiar figure -- the well-upholstered hindsight critic. (Laughter) He tells us that our strategy was wrong -- that the cost was too great -- that something else won the war. That is an argument as old as the remorse of those who had their chance and muffed it. (Applause) It is as recent as the claims of those who say that they could have done it better.

You (may) remember the First Battle of the Marne in the autumn of 1914. Almost everybody thought that it was Marshall Joffre who had won it. But some refused to agree and one day, a newspaper man appealed to Marshall Joffre and said, "Will you tell me who did win the Battle of the Marne?" "I can't answer that," said (the Marshall) Joffre, "but I can tell you that if the Battle of the Marne had been lost the blame would have been on me." (Applause)

Our war, too, -- this war that we are finishing -- had to be won. No price, we were told then, was too high to pay to win it. We did count the cost. But in the barrage that we laid down against the depression we could not stop firing to haggle about the price of every shell. We kept on

firing and fighting. The important thing is that the war is being won. (Applause)

Without that victory we cannot have the kind of (an) America we know and love and want our children to live in.

New England -- as one of the senior partners in the company of the states -- has always stood for two of the fundamentals of American liberty -- the Town Meeting, with its essential insistence on local control over local affairs -- and the doctrine for which Sam Adams and his friends were willing to fight -- the doctrine of democracy in taxation. While I do not happen to be a cousin of the distinguished Adams family, I consider myself, politically, a lineal descendant of old Sam. (Applause)

In 1776 the fight was for democracy in taxation. In 1936 that is still the fight. Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once said: "Taxes are the price we pay for civilized society." One sure way to determine the social conscience of a government is to examine the way taxes are collected and how they are spent. And one sure way to determine the social conscience of an individual is to get his tax-reaction.

Taxes, after all, are the dues that we pay for the privileges of membership in an organized society.

As society becomes more civilized, government -- national, state and local (government) -- is called on to assume more obligations to its citizens. The privileges of

membership in a civilized society have vastly increased in modern times. But I am afraid we have many who still do not recognize their advantages and want to avoid paying their dues. (Applause)

It is only in the past two generations that most local communities have paved and lighted their streets, put in town sewers, provided town water supplies, organized fire departments, established high schools and public libraries, created parks and playgrounds -- undertaken, in short, all kinds of necessary new activities which, perforce, had to be paid for out of local taxes.

And let me at this point note that in this most amazing of campaigns, I found sections of the Nation where Republican leaders were actually whispering the word to the owners of homes and farms that the present Federal Administration proposed to make a cash levy on local real estate to pay off the national debt. They know and the people as a whole know that the Federal Government does not tax real estate -- they know or ought to know that it cannot tax real estate. If they do not know that, I suggest they read the Constitution of the United States to find out. (Applause)

New obligations to their citizens have also been assumed by the several states and by the Federal Government (to their citizens) -- obligations that were unknown a century and a half ago, (but) that were made necessary by new inventions and by a constantly growing social conscience.

The easiest way to summarize the reason for this extension of government functions, local, state and national, is to use the words of Abraham Lincoln: "The legitimate object of government is to do for the people what needs to be done but which they cannot by individual effort do at all, or do so well, for themselves."

So, my friends, taxes are the price that we all pay collectively to get those things done.

To divide fairly among the people the obligation to pay for these benefits has been a major part of our struggle to maintain democracy in America.

Ever since 1776 that struggle has been between two forces. On the one hand, there has been (the) a vast majority of (our) citizens who believed that the benefits of democracy should be extended and who were willing to pay their fair share to extend them. On the other hand, there has been a small, but powerful group which has fought the extension of those benefits, because it did not want to pay a fair share of their cost.

That was the line-up in 1776. (That) And it is the line-up (in this campaign) today. And I am confident that once more -- in 1936 -- democracy in taxation will win. (Applause)

Here is my principle and I think it is yours too: Taxes shall be levied according to ability to pay. That is the only American principle.

Before this great war against the depression we fought the World War; and it cost us twenty-five billion dollars in three years to win it. We borrowed to fight that war. Then, as now, in 1917 and '18 and '19, a Democratic Administration provided sufficient taxes to pay off the entire war debt within ten or fifteen years.

Those taxes in the war days had been levied according to ability to pay. But the succeeding Republican Administration did not believe in that principle. There was a reason. They had political debts to those who sat at their elbows. (Applause) To pay those political debts, they reduced the taxes of their friends in the higher brackets and left the national debt to be paid by later generations. (Because they evaded their obligation) Because they regarded the political debt as more important than the national debt, the depression in 1929 started with a sixteen billion dollar handicap on us and our children.

Now let's keep this little drama straight. The actors are the same. But the act is different. (Applause) Today their role calls for stage tears about the next generation. (Applause) But -- in the days after the World War -- they played a different part.

The moral of the play is clear. They got out from under then -- they would get out from under now -- if their friends could get back into power and they could get back to the driver's seat. But neither you nor I think that they

are going to get back. (Applause)

But, as in the World War, we have (again) created a tax structure to yield revenues adequate to pay the cost of this war against depression in this generation and not in the next.

New or increased taxes are not needed to enable us to balance the Federal Budget and to begin very soon a rapid reduction in the national debt. Why? Because recovery is with us. Federal revenues are increasing; emergency expenditures are decreasing. A balanced budget is on the way. Does that sound like bankruptcy to you? (Applause)

Let us keep on. Why this increase in government revenues? Because the taxpayer earns more money and spends more money. Though he pays more money in taxes, he has more money left for himself and (for) his family.

And here are some very simple and very interesting figures. For the average American -- we have reduced the individual income tax. Any family head who earns an income of less than \$26,000 a year pays a smaller income tax in 1936 than (he paid for) in 1932. Now that means that less than one per cent of the heads of American families are paying today (pay) more than they did; and more than ninety-nine per cent (pay) are paying less (than they did, for more than ninety-nine per cent earn less than) because more than ninety-nine per cent of American families earn less than \$26,000 per year. If you want the answer to this talk about high taxes

under this Administration -- there it is. Taxes are higher for (those) less than one per cent who can afford to pay high taxes. And they are lower for those who can afford to pay less. That is getting back again to the American principle -- taxation according to ability to pay. (Applause)

But you would think, to hear some people talk, that those good people who live at the top of our economic pyramid are being taxed into rags and tatters. What is the fact? The fact is that they are much further away from the poorhouse than they were in 1932. You and I know that as a matter of personal observation. (Applause)

A number of my friends who belong in these very high upper brackets have suggested to me on several occasions, have suggested more in sorrow than in anger that if I am re-elected President they will have to move to some other nation because of high taxes here. Now, I will miss them very much (applause) but if they did go they will soon come back. (Applause) Because (for) a year or two of paying taxes in almost any other country in the world will make them yearn once more for the good old taxes of the (United States) U.S.A.

One more word on recent history. I inherited from the previous Administration a tax structure which not only imposed an unfair income tax burden on the low-income groups of this country --but also imposed an unfair burden upon the average American by a long list of taxes on purchases and consumption -- in other words what we call hidden

taxes.

In 1933 when we came into office, fifty-eight cents out of every dollar of Federal revenue came from hidden taxes. Leaving out of account the liquor tax -- (for) because liquor was illegal (in 1933) when I came into office (applause) -- leaving out that tax, which is a hidden tax, we have reduced these indirect taxes to thirty-eight cents out of every dollar.

How else have we improved and Americanized the tax structure?

First, we gave a credit to earned income -- that is income from personal work or service -- thus substantially reducing taxes paid by the working citizen. Wasn't that the American thing to do?

(Second) Secondly, we decreased the tax rates on small corporations. Wasn't that the American thing to do?

And third, we increased the taxes paid by individuals in the higher brackets -- those (of) with incomes of over \$50,000 a year. Wasn't that the American thing to do? (Applause)

Fourth, we increased still further, more steeply, the taxes paid by individuals in the highest brackets -- (those) men and women with incomes (over) of one million dollars a year and up. Wasn't that the American thing to do? (Applause)

Fifth, we increased the tax on very large estates. Wasn't that the American (thing to do) way of doing it?

And finally, this year we had to find new revenues to meet the immediate bonus payments and to take the place of the processing taxes. This new tax -- called the undistributed profits tax -- is merely an extension of the individual income tax law and a plugging-up of the loopholes in it, loopholes, incidentally, that (which) could only be used (only) by (men of) people with very large incomes.

I want to say a word to you average investors and stockholders who are being flooded by propaganda about this tax -- propaganda, incidentally, paid for by your money. It is being disseminated by those who have used corporations in the past to build up their own economic power, who seek, by holding back your dividends, to keep down their taxes.

It is a fact that ninety-eight and a half per cent of all American corporations will pay a smaller normal corporation tax under the new law than under the old law.

And it is a fact that the law permits corporations to expand and build up adequate reserves.

But, my friends, for the first time it gives the stockholder a practical chance to determine for himself whether or not to keep his earnings in the corporation for expansion purposes or to take them out. He is now the one -- not the management, not the board of directors, he is now the one to choose between using his dividends for something

else (and) or reinvesting them in the stock of the corporation.

What we are concerned about (with) -- not only people who have no stocks and bonds but everybody who has ownership of stocks and bonds -- what we are concerned about primarily is principle -- and the principle of this law is sound.

If in its application, imperfections are discovered, they must be corrected for the good of American business just like imperfections in any other statute of the Federal Government or state or locality.

I am certain that the average of our citizenship is not taken in by the amazing amount of other tax misinformation -- which has been turned loose in this political campaign.

People tell you there are fifty-eight taxes on a loaf of bread, or sixty-three taxes on a lady's coat. But, my friends, stop, look and listen. You will find what the propagandists do not tell you -- that only two or three of all of them are Federal taxes imposed by the National Government. All the rest are imposed by local, town, county, city, district and state governments. And remember that two-thirds of all of the taxes paid in America are state and local taxes -- and not Federal taxes. (Applause)

And this Administration has had something to do with these local taxes. It has made them easier to bear. At the request of local and state governments for whom the local burden had become too heavy, we in Washington assumed

the cost of paying in greater part for work for the needy unemployed. And, by a national fiscal policy aimed at reducing interest rates throughout the nation we have greatly lightened the burden of carrying local government debts -- helping those of you who own homes (and) or farms or who pay rent.

I want to say a word also to the wage earners who are finding propaganda about the security tax in their pay envelopes. I want to remind them that the new social security law was designed for them -- for the greater safety of their homes and their families. The fund necessary to provide that security is not collected solely from workers. The employer, too, pays an equal share. And both shares -- yours and the employer's -- are being held for the sole benefit of the worker himself. (Applause)

I have spoken in Chicago and elsewhere of the simple fact that the overwhelming majority of business men are like the rest of us. Most of us, whether we earn wages, run farms or run businesses are in one sense business men. All they seek and all we seek is fair play based on the greater good of the greater number -- fair play on the part of the government in levying taxes on us and fair play on the part of government in protecting us against abuses.

Once more this year we must choose between democracy in taxation and special privilege in taxation. Are you willing to turn the control of the Nation's taxes back to

special privilege? I know and you know the American answer to that question. Your pay envelope may be loaded with suggestions of fear and your dividend letter may be filled with propaganda. But the American people will neither be bluffed nor bludgeoned.

The seeds of fear cannot bear fruit in the polling booth. (Applause)

Inside the polling booth every American man and every American woman stands as the equal of every other American man and woman. There they have no superiors. There they have no masters. There they have nobody telling them what to do -- save their own minds, (and) save their own consciences. There they are sovereign American citizens. And there on November third they will not fear to exercise that sovereignty. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTIMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT
October 22, 1936, 10.30 a.m.

(The President was introduced by Governor Cross.)

Governor Cross, Mayor Spellacy, my friends of
Connecticut:

You are more than friends in Connecticut, for
you are my neighbors. (Applause) No one could fail to
be inspired by this wonderful sight before me. Tens of
thousands of men, women and children -- even the chil-
dren -- not only the men and women, but the children too.
(Applause) And they are taking, all of you, more of an
interest in the problems of government and the future of
the country than at any time before in our American his-
tory.

I am here in a two-fold capacity. I am here as
President to talk with your Governor and your State offi-
cials, your Congressmen and your Senators, in regard to
the problem of floods. And I am here also, I am told, as
a candidate for a high public office.

My old friend, Tom Spellacy, has told me that
where I am standing today, at this moment, the water would
have been up around my hips if I had been here at the time

of the great flood.

I think that we can get a little parable out of that flood -- a parable relating to government and the reason why your Government in Washington has to keep in close with the governments of the states and of the cities of the Nation, and why, under certain circumstances, the Government at Washington must help.

This River of yours goes through four states -- Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut. A large part of the flood waters that visited you recently had their origin in some other state. No matter what you do in Connecticut, no matter how many dikes you build, no matter how many precautions you take, unless the floods are controlled at the source of the River, your work will be in vain. That is why the problem of floods involves more than one state.

There are two approaches to that problem: The first is by the method of cooperation between states -- the interstate compact method -- and I am glad to say that these states of New England are working together, planning for the control of floods. But, my friends, that method is insufficient in itself. You cannot ask the State of Vermont, for example, to pay the entire cost of controlling the flood

waters that flow through Vermont. The chief benefit is going to be not to Vermont, but to Massachusetts and Connecticut. Then again, when you come to the final problem, you find that you have the duty of the Federal Government to control the waters of navigable rivers, and your Federal Government stands ready to do its share towards flood prevention in the future. (Applause)

It is a happier Connecticut that I have come back to than the Connecticut I saw in 1932.

I do not particularly like figures and neither do you, but just listen for one minute:

In this State, employment in the City of Hartford alone is forty-five per cent greater this year than it was in 1932. Aggregate payrolls are eighty-two per cent greater than they were in the Spring of 1933.

Twenty-three thousand workers have been re-employed by private industry and payrolls are running at the rate of forty-four million dollars a year more than before recovery began.

Building construction is up four times what it was in those days, and the retail stores are selling twenty-eight per cent more merchandise than they sold then.

And because Connecticut, like the State of New York, is also an agricultural state, let me point out to you that in the State, the value of your farm products -- I mean the money received by the farmers of the State -- has gone up somewhere between thirty and forty per cent.

And let me point out to you that when we are taking stock we are thinking not only of our own city, not only of our own state, not only of the region of states in which we live, but we are thinking about the Nation as a whole, realizing that the prosperity of the West is reflected in the prosperity of the East, and that, unless the cotton farmer of the South can get a fair price for his cotton, he is unable to buy the manufactured products of New England.

That is the lesson that we have learned these past three years, and that is why your Administration in Washington has been thinking about the return of prosperity in terms of the whole Nation and not just in terms of one part of the Nation.

And, my friends, I regard the State of Connecticut as a very integral part of the Nation. (Applause)

I am glad that prosperity is back with us again and, believe me, it is going to stay.

And I know that on the third of November, some time in the evening, I am going to get a telegram from Wilbur Cross and Tom Spellacy, and a lot of my old friends here, telling me that the State of Connecticut is in the Democratic column. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
MERIDEN, CONNECTICUT
October 22, 1936, 11.35 A.M.

Mr. Mayor, my friends:

I am very glad to come back to Meriden.

I am told by my old friend, Senator Maloney, that I am sitting at the same spot where I made a speech in the Campaign of 1920. In the sixteen years since then a great deal of water has gone over the dam. As you know, after that year we went through a period of frenzied finance which made us believe that we had real prosperity. As a matter of fact, you and I know today that it was a false prosperity.

Later on there came a period of depression, more serious than any in our history, and since that period we have tried, with some success, I believe, to bring prosperity and to end the depression, but, especially, to make this new prosperity a permanent one. And we are succeeding.

I suppose there is no better index to the purchasing power of the American people than the sales of silverware. From all I hear, the greatest silverware center of the world is doing pretty well, and I am glad to see it with my own eyes.

Thank you very much for this wonderful reception that you have given me. I hope it won't be another sixteen years before I come back to Meriden. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
WATERBURY, CONNECTICUT
October 22, 1936, 12.30 P.M.

My friends, I am very glad to be here, to be here with my old friends, the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor and Congressman Smith.

This is a very different Waterbury from the one four years ago. It is a going concern once more.

We went through pretty hard times in places like Waterbury in every part of the Nation but, on these trips of mine, I find not only a renewed prosperity, but I find a determination on the part of the people of the Nation to keep this prosperity by making it more sound. You and I are thinking not only in terms of present pay envelopes, but we are thinking in terms of future security, security for ourselves through more permanent employment and security for our children and security for our old age.

That has been one of the chief motives behind what your National Administration has sought to do in these past three and a half years. I believe that we are making progress and I believe that we are going to make more progress in the next four years.

I am grateful to you for the wonderful reception that you have given me in Waterbury, and I hope to come back here and visit you again very soon.

Many thanks. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
October 22, 1936, 3.00 P. M.

(There were approximately 70,000 people in the audience.)

Mr. Mayor, Governor Cross, my friends:

I am always glad to come back to New Haven, and I am happy indeed to find that the prosperity of New Haven has so greatly increased in these past two years. And I am glad to come back for another reason, because I am very proud that two years ago I became an honorary Alumnus of Yale University.

And so, my friends, I am glad to have been with you here today, and I hope to come back again very soon to see you. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL. EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT
October 22, 1936, 4.35 P.M.

Mr. Mayor and my friends of Bridgeport:

I am glad to be here today. I am glad to be here during this, your Centennial Year, and I am glad to have this Centennial coin which, like all the other coins of the United States, is worth a hundred cents on the dollar.

I came to know Bridgeport very well in the days of its greatest prosperity, 1917 and 1918. But you and I know that that prosperity was caused by war and therefore was not permanent prosperity.

And I also knew Bridgeport in 1928 and 1929, and you and I know that that, too, was not a permanent prosperity.

This new prosperity which I now see with my own eyes and which says that business is humming in Bridgeport, is, I hope, a permanent prosperity, and I look for the support of every citizen in Bridgeport to keep us headed for prosperity for the next four years. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL. EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT
October 22, 1936, 5.30 P.M.

Governor Cross, my friends of Westport:

I am glad to come here again. I have had a very wonderful day driving from Hartford down through all the cities on the way here.

It has been a wonderful day because I have been made happy in seeing the conditions of life which seem to be so much better than they were four years ago when I came through Connecticut in 1932.

I am heartened by the wonderful reception that people of Connecticut have given to me, but, even more than that, I am convinced that this year the men and women throughout the country are taking more of an interest in public affairs, more of an interest in the future of the Nation, than they ever have before. They are reading and listening and doing all of their thinking for themselves.
(Applause)

And, perhaps I am wrong, but I think and I have the idea that on the third of November, because of their thinking, I am going to get a telegram from Governor Cross, your present Governor and your next Governor, telling me that all is well in Connecticut. (Prolonged applause)

**Yes, I am going to get a telegram just across the line
from Connecticut, over in Dutchess County, New York, and
that telegram is going to say that Connecticut is going
Democratic. (Prolonged applause)**

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
NORWALK, CONNECTICUT
October 22, 1936, about 6.00 P.M.

My friends, I am very glad to come back to Norwalk. I remember very well speaking here sixteen long years ago, and some of those who greeted me that day have greeted me again today.

Much has happened in those sixteen years. We have had a false prosperity and we have had a great depression. But I am very glad to come back here to find prosperity returning, a prosperity that we hope will be a permanent prosperity.

We are thinking not merely in terms of dollars but in terms of human lives, in terms of security for people's jobs, security for people's children and security for people's old age.

I have had a very wonderful day in Connecticut coming up all the way from Hartford with your great Governor.
(Applause)

As you know, I am not a stranger here. As a matter, of fact, I am a close neighbor of Connecticut, for I live in an adjoining county in the State of New York. That is why I hope very soon to be able to come back and greet you once

more, making the journey next time, as I did this one, from the White House in Washington. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT
October 22, 1936, 6.30 P.M.

My friends of Stamford, I have had a very wonderful day driving down from Hartford, and I have been happy to notice that the people are much more happy and much more prosperous than they were when I drove through in 1932.

It has been a very wonderful two days' trip through New England and I would like, through you, the good people of Stamford, to thank not only the people of Connecticut but also those people in Rhode Island and Massachusetts with whom I visited yesterday and who have given me such a warm reception.

I am confident, from what I have seen, that the people through this section of the Nation, like the people of the other sections of the Nation, are making up their own minds as to this election, and I am not afraid of the result.

So let me thank you again as a neighbor, for I do not live very far away from here, for your hospitality and let me tell you that I am coming back to see you again very soon. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BROADCAST FROM THE WHITE HOUSE
TO THE BUSINESS MEN'S DINNERS
October 23, 1936, 10.00 P.M.

When these dinners of business men throughout the country were first organized, I was asked to talk specifically for the business men of the Nation. But I said that it was impossible to make a speech for business men as members of a separate and distinct occupation from the rest of the people in America. There cannot be one type of speech for business men and another type of speech for industrial workers and for farmers.

We have no separate interests in America. There is nothing to say to one group that ought not to be said to all groups. What is good for one ought to be good for all. We can make our machinery of private enterprise work only so long as it does not benefit one group at the expense of another.

No one in the United States believes more firmly than I in the system of private business, private property and private profit. No Administration in the history of our country has done more for it. It was this Administration which dragged it back out of the pit into which it had fallen in 1933.